

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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NUMBER 1

- Migration Patterns..... Gladys K. Bowles
Membership in Rural Neighborhoods..... John R. Christiansen
Rural Life in a Mass Society..... Lowry Nelson
Environment-Personality Relationships..... Leonard A. Ostlund
Occupational Mobility..... C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory
Value Orientations and Behavioral Correlates.....
..... Emory J. Brown and Robert C. Bealer

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10	3, 4
15	1, 3
18	4

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14	1, 2, 3, 4
15	2, 3, 4
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MIGRATION PATTERNS OF THE RURAL-FARM POPULATION, THIRTEEN ECONOMIC REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1950*

by Gladys K. Bowles†

ABSTRACT

A net of 8.6 million persons alive at both the beginning and end of the decade migrated from farms between 1940 and 1950—a net out-migration rate of 31 per cent, compared with 13 per cent for 1930-40, and 19 per cent for 1920-30. In the 1940-50 decade, rates for young people were high in all areas, rates for children and for persons 25-44 were low in most areas, and rates for persons older than 45 were generally intermediate between the rates for the other groups. Rates for girls and young women were usually higher than rates for boys and young men. Rates were usually higher for nonwhite persons than for white persons. The South Center and Southwest Plains and the Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast economic regions show up as the areas with highest out-migration rates. The Pacific Southwest had the lowest rate.

Most of us are aware that the population of the United States has long been characterized by a high degree of mobility between farms and nonfarm areas. Each year since 1921, more than two million persons have moved either to or from farms. In general, the movement away from farms each year has been much greater than the movement to farms.

In the present study, net migration for each age-sex-color group of the rural-farm population has been measured by the survival ratios method for the three decades from 1920 to 1950. Under consideration here will be the following: (1) the magnitude of the total net migration from the farm population for 1920-30, 1930-40, and 1940-50, and the rates of migration for each 5-year age group in these decades; (2) for the 1940-50 decade, the rates of migration among various age-sex-color groups, and the differences in age-sex migration rates for the thirteen economic regions of the country.

Data from the Censuses of Popula-

tion were used to make estimates of net migration and rates of migration for each decade. Certain adjustments to the farm population data were required for comparability from one census to another. Census survival ratios for the United States (with some adjustments) were used throughout the computations.¹

¹ For the adjustments to the basic population data and a statement on method of deriving census survival ratios, see Gladys K. Bowles, *Farm Population . . . Net Migration from the Rural-Farm Population, 1940-50*, Statistical Bull. 176, U. S. Dept. of Agr., AMS (Washington, D. C., June, 1956). The estimates included here differ somewhat from estimates of the net migration of the farm population derived from the Annual Survey of Farm Population, conducted by the Agricultural Marketing Service. The principal differences are: (1) estimates here relate to the rural-farm population only; and (2) the present estimates cover the net migration of persons who were alive both at the beginning and the end of the decade under consideration.

Data for the 1920-30 decade and for the 1930-40 decade are from the following previously published reports: C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, WPA Research Monograph XIX (Washington, D. C., 1939); and Eleanor H. Bernert, *Volume and Composition of Net Migration from the Rural-Farm Population, 1930-40, for the United States*, Major Geographic Divisions and States (Washington, D. C.: USDA, BAE, 1944).

*Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, University of Maryland, College Park, Md., Aug. 29, 1955.

†Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA, Washington, D. C.

VARIATION IN RATES OF MIGRATION,
BY DECADES, 1920-1950

The amount of net loss through migration from the farm population has varied during the period. In the 1920-30 decade there was a net loss of about 6.1 million persons who were alive at both the beginning and the end. In the next decade, the net loss through migration was considerably less, 3.5 million. Between 1940 and 1950, the rural-farm population lost a net of 8.6 million persons through migration.

Migration from farms to nonfarm areas in any period is usually in response to a search or need for: (1) economic opportunities in nonfarm areas, (2) educational advantages, (3) change of residence for retired persons, (4) marital opportunities, (5) service in the armed forces, (6) other satisfactions. The differences in the magnitudes of the net loss through migration indicated above are thought to reflect differences in economic opportunities available in nonfarm areas during 1920-1950 for the excess farm population which could not find employment on farms. In 1920-30, when opportunities for nonfarm employment were high, net migration from the farm population was high. During the depression years of the 1930's, on the other hand, when opportunities for nonfarm employment were considerably less, many potential migrants remained on farms, and many who had migrated away returned from nonfarm areas. In the war and postwar decade of the 1940's, when opportunities for employment were very high in nonfarm areas, the highest number migrated. Many persons who were potential migrants from farms during the 1930's and who were unable to migrate then were added to the number of persons who might have been expected to migrate from farms during 1940-50.

Perhaps the rates of migration for the three decades, listed below, are

more indicative of the variation in net migration from farms than are the absolute numbers. For the 1930 and 1940 decades, the net out-migration is expressed as a percentage of the persons alive at both the beginning and the end of the decade, and for the 1920 decade the rate is computed as a percentage of the population at the beginning of the decade:²

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
1920-30.....	19
1930-40.....	13
1940-50.....	31

Variation in rates of migration for the age-sex groups in each decade are shown in Chart 1. In this chart, it can be seen that 1930-40 rates are lowest,

² Data from previous studies were used without modification; therefore, there is some degree of noncomparability between the rate for the 1920-30 decade and the rates for other decades. For age groups where rate of survival is very high, it makes little difference if the "expected population" or the population at the beginning of the period is used as the base of the net migration rate. However, for the older age groups, where rate of survival is low, considerable difference results in the rate if the population at the beginning of the period is used rather than the population expected to survive to the end of the period. Hamilton, Henderson, Siegel, and others have pointed out that using the expected population, with the inherent assumptions regarding the rate of migration of persons who died before the end of the period, gives a fairer measure of rate of migration. [See C. Horace Hamilton and F. M. Henderson, "Use of Survival Rate Method in Measuring Net Migration," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 39:226 (June, 1944), pp. 197-206; F. M. Henderson, "An Estimate of Net Rural-Urban Migration in the State and Counties of North Carolina" (unpublished thesis, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, 1943); and Jacob S. Siegel and C. Horace Hamilton, "Some Considerations in the Use of the Residual Method of Estimating Net Migration," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 47:259 (Sept., 1952), pp. 475-500.]

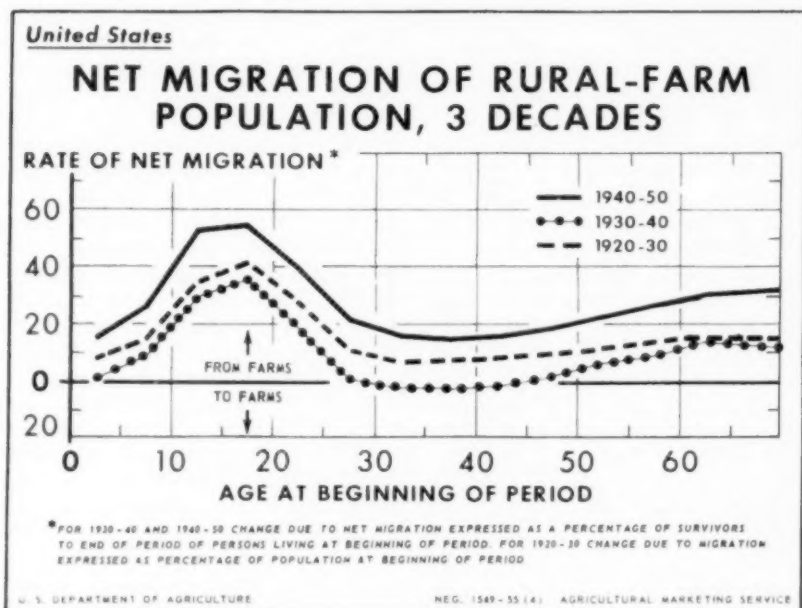


CHART 1

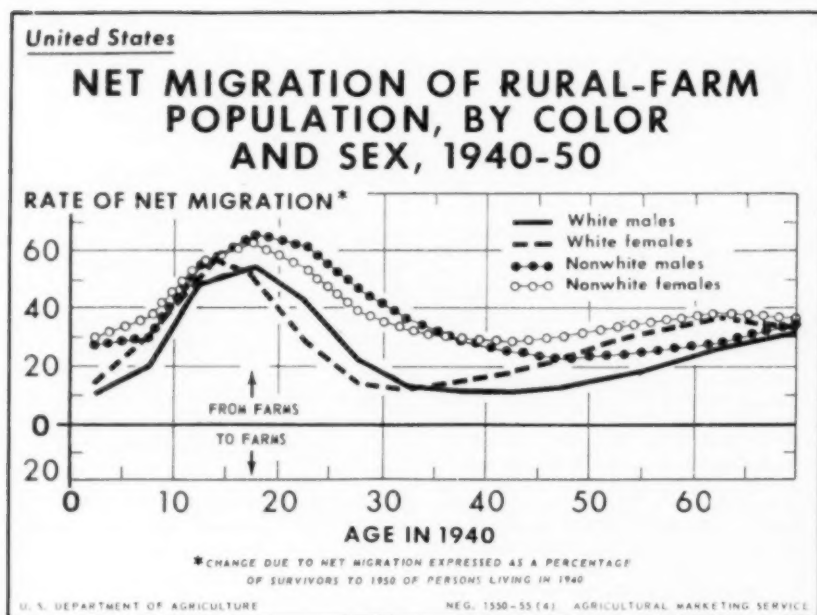


CHART 2

1940-50 rates are highest, and 1920-30 rates fall between.³

This chart also indicates variation in migration which occurred among the different age groups. Rates for children and for persons of an age to be parents of these children were relatively low, as may be seen from the rates for persons under 10 and for the age groups 25 through 44. Rates for young adults were highest in all periods; the rates for older persons were somewhat lower. Patterns were similar in the three decades; only the levels of the rates vary.

Much has been said about the socioeconomic reasons for the age selectivity of migration. For several reasons, rates are highest for persons just entering the working ages: (1) they are in search of economic opportunities and have usually formed no job attachments on farms, or only tenuous ones;

(2) they are often at a breaking point in educational advancement; (3) most are relatively unattached as far as family responsibilities are concerned and are, thus, more free to move about; (4) they may not have formed as strong sentimental attachments for farm homes and communities as have some of the older persons; (5) many of them are eagerly in search of new experiences which they feel will be afforded to them in nonfarm areas. Rates for family groups, on the other hand, are lower, owing to: (1) less freedom of movement because of small children, (2) job attachments already made in farm communities (they may be farm owners, well-established farm tenants, etc.), and (3) strong community and family attachments. Rates for older people, especially those of retirement age, are largely dependent upon such factors as (1) death of spouse, (2) financial ability to leave the farm, or (3) customs, as for example that of "moving to town" when the farm is turned over to a son.

VARIATION IN NET MIGRATION FOR AGE-SEX-COLOR GROUPS

Comparison of the four lines in Chart 2 gives an indication of the differences which occurred in the migration rates for white and nonwhite males and females during the 1940-50 decade. (Although there are some differences in the patterns for the 1920-30 and 1930-40 decades, in general the age-sex-color groups have shown similar variation in the past.)

White females tended to leave farms somewhat earlier than white males. They also left at higher rates, except in age groups between 15 and 29. Rates for nonwhites were usually higher than rates for whites. Nonwhite young males and females left at about the same rates through age group 10-14. Rates for nonwhite males were somewhat higher than those for nonwhite females in the ages 15-34. Nonwhite

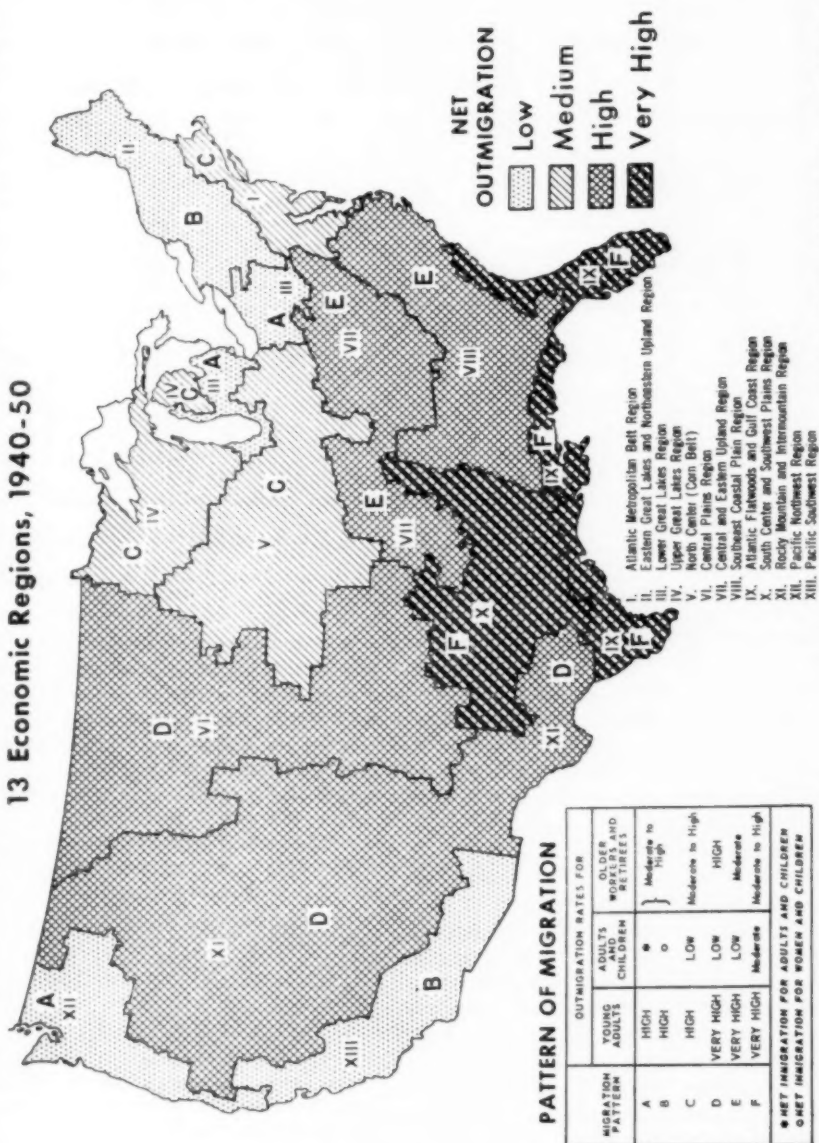
³ Because of the estimating procedures involved, there is undoubtedly some measure of error in the estimates of net migration. Small amounts, rates based on small absolute numbers, small differences, etc., should be interpreted with caution. The problems in the estimating procedure are explained in Bowles, *op. cit.*

For further information on this subject of errors in estimating net migration, reference can also be made to two articles by Daniel O. Price: "Estimates of Net Migration in the United States, 1870-1940," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII:1 (Feb., 1953), pp. 35-39; and "Examination of Two Sources of Error in the Estimation of Net Internal Migration," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 50:271 (Sept., 1955), pp. 689-700.

In all similar charts, the rates are plotted at the midpoint of the interval in all cases except for the age group 65 and over. The rate for this group is plotted at age 70, which is approximately the median age of the group 65 and over. It should be noted that the age is that at the beginning of the period under consideration and that persons referred to migrated at any time between that age and an age 10 years older—those 10-14, for example, migrated between this age and 20-24, persons 15-19 before reaching 25-29, etc.

NET MIGRATION of the RURAL-FARM POPULATION

13 Economic Regions, 1940-50



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CHART 3

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

TABLE 1. ECONOMIC REGIONS: NET CHANGE IN RURAL-FARM POPULATION DUE TO MIGRATION, 1940-50

Region	Number of persons ¹			Rate of migration ²		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
	<i>Thousands</i>			<i>Per cent</i>		
I Atlantic Metropolitan Belt..	-245	-124	-121	-23.9	-23.1	-24.7
II Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland	-237	-122	-115	-20.5	-19.9	-21.2
III Lower Great Lakes.....	-284	-147	-137	-19.5	-19.1	-19.9
IV Upper Great Lakes.....	-365	-188	-177	-27.2	-25.9	-28.8
V North Center (Corn Belt)...	-1,014	-505	-509	-25.4	-24.1	-26.8
VI Central Plains.....	-554	-275	-279	-34.7	-32.5	-37.3
VII Central and Eastern Upland..	-1,340	-653	-686	-29.2	-27.9	-30.6
VIII Southeast Coastal Plain.....	-2,156	-1,044	-1,112	-34.8	-33.6	-36.0
IX Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast	-392	-193	-199	-38.4	-36.8	-40.2
X South Center and Southwest Plains	-1,606	-804	-802	-44.8	-43.9	-45.7
XI Rocky Mountain and Inter- mountain	-237	-119	-118	-31.2	-29.4	-33.3
XII Pacific Northwest.....	-88	-46	-43	-17.0	-16.4	-17.8
XIII Pacific Southwest.....	-92	-49	-43	-15.5	-15.1	-16.0

¹ Change in rural-farm population due to net migration of persons alive both at beginning and end of decade.

² Change due to net migration, expressed as a percentage of rural-farm population alive both at beginning and end of decade.

Source: *Farm Population . . . Net Migration from the Rural-Farm Population, 1940-50*, Statistical Bull. 176, U. S. Department of Agriculture, AMS (Washington, D. C., June, 1956).

females in the older ages had higher rates than did nonwhite males.

Vocational opportunities for women are generally greater in nonfarm areas than on farms. Especially high rates occur among girls who do not marry farm men at young ages and who are looking for marital as well as vocational opportunities as an objective of their migration. To a large extent, the proportionately heavier net out-migration for females in the older age groups reveals the migration of widows, who are more likely to leave farms after the deaths of their husbands than are male operators who have lost their wives.

During the 1940-50 decade, when employment was relatively easily found in nonfarm areas, a great dispersion of the nonwhite population occurred. Net migration rates for rural-farm nonwhites in some of the south-

ern areas exceeded 70 per cent of the population alive at both the beginning and the end of that decade. Nonwhites who had lived under disadvantaged conditions seized the opportunity to better their lot and that of their families.

VARIATION IN AGE-SEX RATES OF NET MIGRATION FOR THE THIRTEEN ECONOMIC REGIONS

In the remainder of this paper, examination is made of the variation in net migration among the thirteen economic regions delineated by Donald J. Bogue as a broader group above economic subregions and state economic areas in his integrated area classification system.⁴ The regions are identified in Table 1 and Chart 3.

⁴ Economic regions, as delineated by Donald J. Bogue (cf. "An Outline of the Com-
[footnote continued on next page]

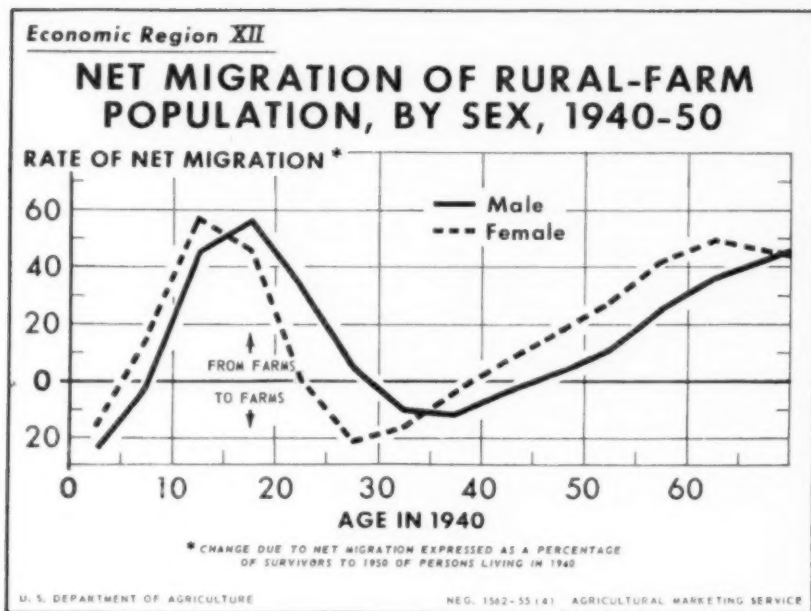


CHART 4

There were substantial differences in migration rates among the various economic regions (Table 1). Over-all net migration rates for the rural-farm population of the regions ranged from 16 per cent to 45 per cent of the population alive at the beginning and end of the decade. The South Center and Southwest Plains and Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast economic regions show up as areas with heaviest rates of out-migration in the 1940-50 decade. The lowest rate occurred in the Pacific Southwest region.

While the rates of migration for the plete System of Economic Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX:2 (Sept., 1954), pp. 136-139), were chosen as the basis of the discussion which follows rather than the 9 geographic divisions or the 4 major regions of the Census, because the economic areas group together somewhat more homogeneous areas than do the geographic divisions. Data for the geographic divisions are contained in the bulletin mentioned previously (Bowles, *op cit.*).

age-sex groups of the thirteen economic regions follow similar patterns, there are important differences in detail. Chart 3 presents a composite view of certain of these differences.

First, the regions were combined into four groups on level of migration rate for persons of all ages. Thus, Regions IX and X, Regions VI, VII, VIII, and XI, Regions I, IV, and V, and Regions II, III, XII, and XIII have been similarly shaded on the chart.

Next, the regions were separated into two groups according to direction of net migration for the individual age groups. This put together the regions which had in-migration for some age groups (those labeled A and B on the chart) and those regions which had net out-migration for all age groups (those labeled C, D, E, and F).

Then the regions were grouped according to the comparative level of the migration rates for three broad age

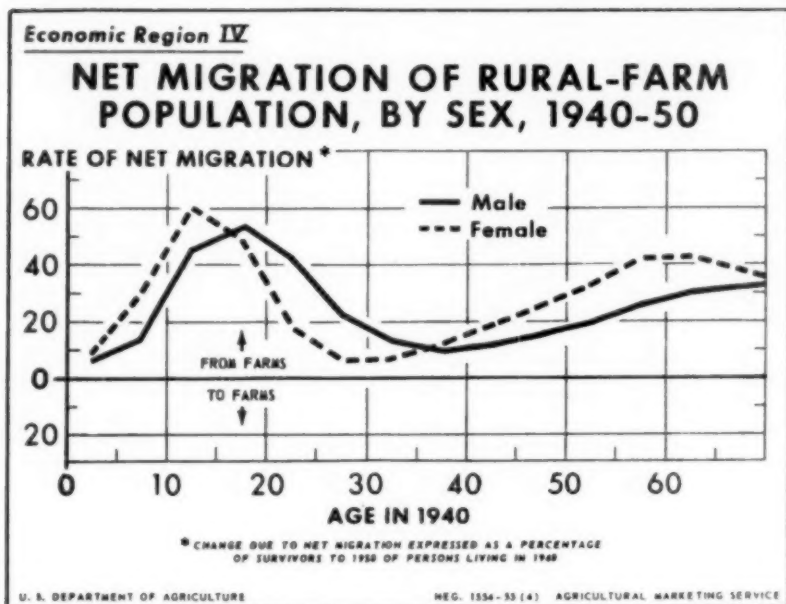


CHART 5

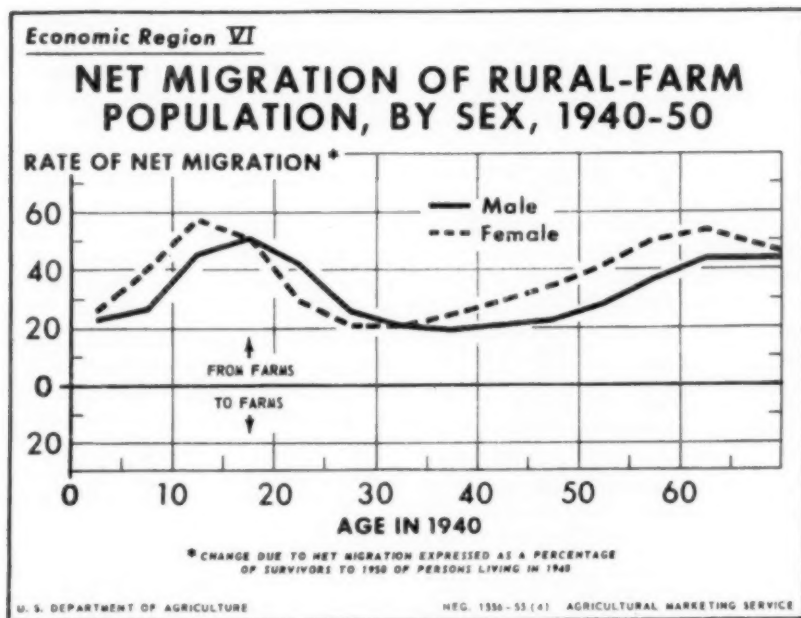
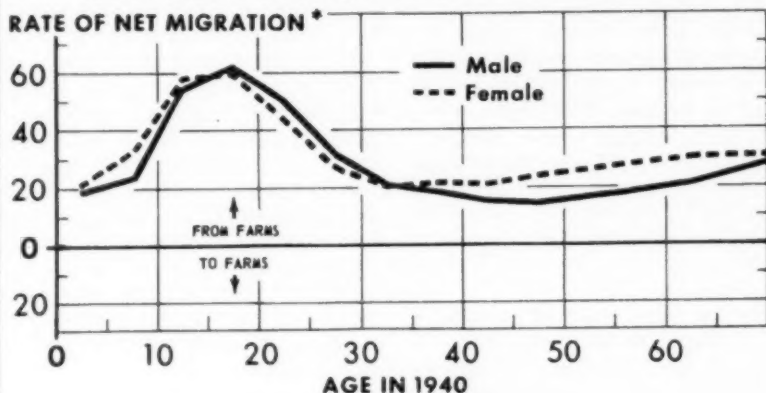


CHART 6

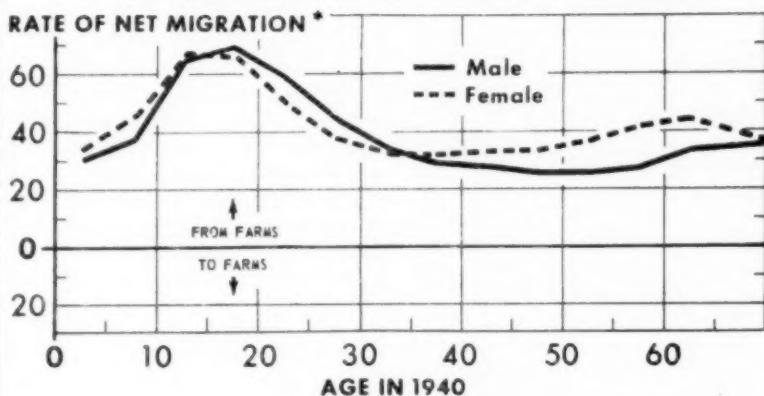
Economic Region VIII**NET MIGRATION OF RURAL-FARM POPULATION, BY SEX, 1940-50**

* CHANGE DUE TO NET MIGRATION EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF SURVIVORS TO 1950 OF PERSONS LIVING IN 1940

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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CHART 7

Economic Region X**NET MIGRATION OF RURAL-FARM POPULATION, BY SEX, 1940-50**

* CHANGE DUE TO NET MIGRATION EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF SURVIVORS TO 1950 OF PERSONS LIVING IN 1940

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 1560-55 (4) AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE

CHART 8

classes. These groups, which have common population characteristics, community responsibilities, and the like, have been labeled (1) young adults, (2) adults and children, and (3) older workers and retirees. The comparative level of the rates for these broad classes are similar for the regions identified by each letter on the chart. This adds a dimension to the grouping on over-all rate. For instance, in the four regions grouped together because their over-all rates were "high," Regions VII and VIII have similar patterns for the three broad age groups, and VI and XI show similar patterns.

One region from each of the above types has been selected to illustrate in more detail the differences in age-sex rates of net migration among the thirteen regions.

The first regions to be discussed had in-migration for certain age groups. [Illustrated by Chart 4, for Region XII, the Pacific Northwest.] These regions are the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Southwest (XII and XIII), and the Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland and the Lower Great Lakes (II and III). Among these, Regions III and XII had net migration into the farm population at ages where family groups predominate (children under 10 and adults 25-44) and moderate out-migration rates for the early working ages and the older workers and retirees. Regions II and XIII had net migration to the rural-farm population for women and children only. (It should be noted here that the regions would be combined differently according to rates for other ages. Regions XII and XIII would be grouped together for the rate on retirees and older workers. These regions had the very highest rates for these older persons.)

In the first set of regions which had out-migration for all age groups, there

was a low rate of family group migration and moderate-to-high rates for other ages. These are Regions I, IV, and V (the Atlantic Metropolitan, the Upper Great Lakes, and the Corn Belt). [Illustrated by Chart 5, for Region IV, the Upper Great Lakes Region.]

In another group of regions, family migration rates were low to moderate, but rates for persons entering the working ages and those for older persons were high to very high. This pattern is typical of the Rocky Mountain and Intermountain and the Central Plains Regions (VI and XI). In some areas of these regions, rates for the older age groups exceed even those of the early working age groups. [Illustrated by Chart 6, for Region VI, Central Plains Region.]

In a third set of regions, low-to-moderate rates for families, very high rates for the early working ages, and moderate-to-low rates for older persons were shown. This is the typical pattern of areas of the Central and Eastern Upland Region and the Southeast Coastal Plain Region (VII and VIII). [Illustrated by Chart 7, for Region VIII, Southeast Coastal Plain Region.]

In the fourth set of regions which have out-migration for all age groups, migration rates for nearly all ages were higher than for the other regions. Family group migration rates and rates for older workers and retirees were high, although they were still much lower than the rates for the early working ages within these regions. This is the pattern of the Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region and the South Center and Southwest Plains Region (IX and X). [Illustrated by Chart 8, for Region X, South Center and Southwest Plains Region.] Out-migration rates for the early working ages in these regions reached nearly 70 per cent (for males who were ages 15-19 in 1940).

Differences in migration rates of males and females have been noted earlier, and they are apparent in all regions. A few points additional to those made earlier on variation by sex can be made here. In general, rates for females were higher or the same as those for males up through ages 15-19; for ages 20-29, rates for males were usually higher or the same as rates for females; and for persons over 35, with a few exceptions, the rates were higher for females than for males.

Variation in level of migration rates among the regions is associated with many factors. For instance, although

rates for young adults were high in all regions, they were particularly high in areas of high fertility and high labor-force replacement. Rates for family groups are generally low in areas of productive farming; they are higher in areas of low farm income and production. Rates for older persons, particularly those about to retire, are dependent on such things as customs, financial ability to retire, and climate. Additional factors relating to variation in rates of net migration of the farm population in the thirteen economic regions are being explored in further studies.

THE BEHAVIORAL CORRELATES OF MEMBERSHIP IN RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS*

by John R. Christiansen†

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of a field investigation concerning the social behavior of rural-neighborhood members. From a study of 713 rural families in Dane County, Wisconsin, the conclusion was reached that families who live in rural neighborhoods engage more often in certain proximal, *primary*, rural-located interactions than do other families. This finding generally supports current theoretical formulations. A research instrument was devised to determine neighborhood membership, on the basis of behavior, and to aid in trend analyses of interactions characteristic of neighborhood members.

THE PROBLEM

Despite a lack of corroborative research, a number of theorists prominent in the field of rural sociology have ascribed many important behavioral consequences to membership in rural neighborhoods. It has been maintained, for example, that neighborhoods foster democracy,¹ develop leaders, and provide a means of reaching, motivating, and socializing rural people.² While all theorists agree upon relatively few of the specific behavioral attributes supposedly distinctive of rural neighborhoods, there is general consensus that neighborhood areas are characterized by a greater frequency of certain interactions than non-neighborhood areas. In this regard, Sander-son has written:

Unless there is more of certain types of social interaction between

families within a given area than with those outside the area it is not possible to distinguish the area as a neighborhood.³

Despite the relatively important behavioral consequences long ascribed to membership in the rural neighborhood in theoretical writings, most neighborhood research has been concerned with discovery and description.⁴ The persistence of rural neighborhoods in an area over a period of time has also been studied in some instances, and efforts have been made to develop systems of classifying neighborhoods along various kinds of continua.⁵ Only

* Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942), p. 237.

† For a summary of such research, see J. H. Kolb and Douglas G. Marshall, *Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society*, Wisconsin AES Bull. 154 (Madison, 1944), pp. 40, 49-51.

* A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, at the University of Maryland, College Park, Md., Aug., 1955. The study reported in the paper is one phase of a larger study of rural neighborhoods directed by J. H. Kolb and supported by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation.

† Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA.

¹ Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), p. 24.

² Carl C. Taylor et al., *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 61, 64.

³ See Frank D. Alexander and Carl F. Kraenzel, *Rural Social Organization of Sweet Grass County, Montana*, Montana AES Bull. 490 (Bozeman, 1953); Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, Minnesota AES Bull. 401 (St. Paul, 1949); S. Earl Grigsby and Harold Hoff-sommer, *Rural Social Organization of Frederick County, Maryland*, Maryland AES Bull. A-51 (College Park, 1949); Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley, *Rural Organization in Process: A Case Study of Hamilton County, Iowa*, Iowa AES Bull. 365

[footnote continued on next page]

recently, however, have attempts been made to demonstrate the effects of neighborhood membership upon behavior.⁶ Lindstrom has reported that the neighborhood proved to be an important guide for the location of natural community boundaries of new community-unit school districts in Illinois.⁷ Lionberger and Hassinger concluded from their study of the diffusion of farm information in Missouri that neighborhood patterns of association tended to localize the exchange of farm information on a person-to-person basis.⁸ Mayo and Barnett describe the *neighbor group*, used by the Soil Conservation Service, as a major communication channel.⁹ In a Kentucky study, Marsh and Coleman found support for the hypothesis that "... the extent to which farmers adopt recommended farm practices is, in part, a function of the operator's neighborhood of residence."¹⁰

Because of the deficiency of research regarding the behavioral correlates of neighborhood membership, the study reported in the present paper was un-

(Ames, 1949); J. H. Kolb, *Trends of Country Neighborhoods: A Restudy of Rural Primary Groups, 1921-1931*, Wisconsin AES Bull. 120 (Madison, 1933); and Kolb and Marshall, *Neighborhood-Community Relationships*, op. cit.

⁶ In these recent researches, the neighborhood has been used as the independent rather than the dependent variable, in contrast to the predominant usage earlier.

⁷ David E. Lindstrom, "Neighborhoods in Illinois," *Rural Sociology*, XIX:2 (June, 1954), pp. 188-191.

⁸ Herbert F. Lionberger and Edward Hassinger, "Neighborhoods as a Factor in the Diffusion of Farm Information in a Northeast Missouri Farming Community," *Rural Sociology*, XIX:4 (Dec., 1954), pp. 377-384.

⁹ Selz C. Mayo and William E. Barnett, "Neighbor Groups—An Informal System of Communication," *Rural Sociology*, XVII:4 (Dec., 1952), pp. 371-373.

¹⁰ C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman, "The Relation of Neighborhood of Residence to Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices," *Rural Sociology*, XIX:4 (Dec., 1954), pp. 385-389.

dertaken. The general hypothesis of the study, stated in the null form, was that *no association exists between neighborhood membership (residence) and certain forms of interaction which are stated in theory as being characteristic of rural neighborhoods*. Besides testing this hypothesis, the study was designed to develop a research instrument that would facilitate trend analyses of interactions associated with neighborhood membership, and also possibly provide an interaction measure of whether families live in or out of rural neighborhoods.

DATA AND PROCEDURE

The data for this study consist of detailed information on the social interaction patterns and general background of 731 families living outside the platted or incorporated areas of Dane County, Wisconsin. The sample was selected by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, by use of "master sample"¹¹ materials, with the county as the universe. Data were obtained in 1950 and 1951 from personal interviews which were recorded on schedules by trained interviewers. Information making it possible to locate families as to residence in or out of rural neighborhoods (both hamlet-centered and open-country) was also utilized from an independent and as yet unpublished study, by J. H. Kolb, on the 1950 boundaries of Dane County neighborhoods.

In testing the general hypothesis, a list of interactions said to be related to neighborhood membership was first prepared from the available literature in the field—mainly current rural so-

¹¹ For a discussion of this sampling technique, see Arnold J. King and Raymond J. Jessen, "The Master Sample of Agriculture": I, "Development and Use," and II, "Design," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (Mar., 1945), pp. 38-56.

ciology textbooks.¹² In order to approximate the proximal, rural nature of the interactions as they apply to neighborhoods in Dane County, the activities were limited to those occurring within five miles of the respondent's home and outside the platted or incorporated areas. Those activities which were listed or affirmed by most authors as being characteristic of neighborhood members were selected for statistical testing. Chi-square tests of association (using the .05 level of significance) were made between families' neighborhood membership (residence in or out) and the extent of their participation in the listed interactions. The association tests were made of the interactions collectively by means of total and partial tests of association, and individually by means of total tests only.¹³ The items were analyzed collectively with a "crude" index¹⁴ as a summary test of the textual statements, whereas the individual analyses of items enabled

hypotheses concerning specific interactions to be tested.

To construct an instrument for use in trend analyses and in determining neighborhood membership, a refined index of "neighborhood interaction" was constructed through factor-analysis techniques.¹⁵ Included in this index were all items from the crude index which were found to be associated with neighborhood membership and which met the assumptions necessary for factor analysis, in addition to other items which were associated and met the assumptions. The index was constructed to yield a mean index score of "100" and a point of origin at "0" as an aid in analyzing any changes in the frequency of occurrence of the items in the universe over a period of time. Rough tests of the index's validity as a predictor of neighborhood membership were made, as well as total and partial association tests for determining possible limits of its applicability.

THE CRUDE INDEX

According to the literature, the following are types of activity in which members of rural neighborhoods may be expected to engage more often than nonmembers, at nearby rural locations (defined here as activities taking place within a five-mile radius and outside platted or incorporated areas):

1. Church attendance
2. Grocery purchases
3. Participation in school-related organizations
4. Participation in church-related organizations
5. Ball game attendance
6. Picnics
7. Family visiting
8. Mutual assistance
9. Parties
10. Dances

¹² John H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952); Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, op. cit.; David E. Lindstrom, *American Rural Life* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948); Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950); Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1948); Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, op. cit.; T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947); Taylor et al., *Rural Life in the United States*, op. cit.

¹³ See Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations: Part I, Basic Processes* (New York: The Dryden Press), pp. 286-304, for a discussion of the logic of test procedures used here.

¹⁴ Inasmuch as no indication is given by the various authors as to which interactions, if any, are more or less related to neighborhood membership, "crude" weights were assigned in constructing the index. Thus, a score of 1 was given for each activity in which the family participated, and a 0 was scored for every activity in which participation did not occur.

¹⁵ Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952), pp. 533-547.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES, BY NEIGHBORHOOD MEMBERSHIP AND CRUDE INDEX SCORES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION

Neighborhood interaction crude index scores	All families		Neighborhood membership	
	Number	Per cent	In	Out
Total.....	731	100	100	100
High (4-12)	285	39	49	30
Medium (3)	170	23	25	22
Low (0-2)	276	38	26	48

$\chi^2 = 43.45$, with 2 degrees of freedom; $P = < .05$. $\bar{C} = .35$.

11. Participation in organizations other than church- or school-related
12. Work exchange

When these items were combined into a "crude" index of neighborhood interaction, a statistically significant association between index score and neighborhood membership was found (Table 1). However, the amount of association, measured by the corrected coefficient of contingency,¹⁶ was low. Also, the possibility had to be considered that the relationship was a spurious one, caused by the influence of other variables that were associated with neighborhood activity. General observation of Dane County suggested a number of other variables that might be associated with neighborhood interaction scores. Nine variables were found to be so associated, and these were used successively in partial association tests (Table 2). The tests indicated that the association between neighborhood membership and crude neighborhood interaction scores probably was not spurious.¹⁷ The evidence

to this point, therefore, suggests that the null hypothesis—that no association exists between neighborhood membership and certain forms of interaction which are stated in theory as being characteristic of rural neighborhoods—must be rejected.

In individual tests of association between neighborhood membership and extent of participation in each of the twelve activities included in the crude neighborhood interaction index, eight items were found to be associated: church attendance, grocery purchases, participation in school-related organizations, participation in church-related organizations, ball game attendance, family visiting, and parties. Participation in dances, organizations other than church- or school-related ones, mutual aid, and work exchange were not found to be characteristic of neighborhood members. The lack of association of neighborhood membership with mutual aid and work exchange fails to support the classic concept of the rural neighborhood.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1941), pp. 203-208, for a discussion of the coefficient of contingency.

¹⁷ In three of the five partial categories of the "religion" variable, a statistically significant association was not found. However, the distribution of scores in these

categories is similar to that in the categories where statistically significant association was found, so that the lack of significance is probably due to small numbers and does not suggest a spurious relationship.

¹⁸ A recent trend for mutual aid and work exchange to exist independent of neighborhood boundaries has been noted by Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-176.

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD MEMBERSHIP AND CRUDE INDEX SCORES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION, BY PARTIAL CATEGORIES

Neighborhood membership, by partial category	Number of cases	Neighborhood interaction crude index scores			\bar{X}	P	\bar{C}
		Low	Medium	High			
		<i>Per cent</i>					
1. Place of residence:							
a. Eastern Dane County:	390				23.01	<.05	.35
Member	178	29	28	43			
Nonmember	212	53	18	29			
b. Western Dane County:	341				24.57	<.05	.38
Member	159	21	20	59			
Nonmember	182	42	25	33			
2. Children in high school:							
a. Yes:	153				9.97	<.05	.36
Member	60	13	30	57			
Nonmember	93	36	23	41			
b. No:	574				26.98	<.05	.31
Member	273	28	24	48			
Nonmember	301	51	21	28			
3. Children in grade school:							
a. Yes:	258				24.42	<.05	.43
Member	119	18	16	66			
Nonmember	139	42	22	36			
b. No:	473				23.55	<.05	.32
Member	218	30	30	40			
Nonmember	255	51	22	27			
4. Tenure status (farm families):							
a. Owner:	357				28.86	<.05	.40
Member	152	22	18	60			
Nonmember	205	46	21	33			
b. Renter:	172				8.24	<.05	.31
Member	69	15	28	57			
Nonmember	103	35	27	38			
5. Tenure status (nonfarm families):							
a. Owner:	126				11.66	<.05	.43
Member	71	28	33	39			
Nonmember	55	58	21	21			
b. Renter:	73				13.13	<.05	.57
Member	40	47	30	23			
Nonmember	33	88	6	6			
6. Religion:							
a. Reformed:	23				3.49	>.05	.57
Member	12	25	*	75			
Nonmember	11	64	*	36			
b. Catholic:	218				37.59	<.05	.56
Member	92	21	19	60			
Nonmember	126	61	17	22			

[Table continued on opposite page]

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD MEMBERSHIP AND CRUDE INDEX SCORES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION, BY PARTIAL CATEGORIES—Continued

Neighborhood membership, by partial category	Number of cases	Neighborhood interaction crude index scores			\bar{X} ²	P	\bar{C}
		Low	Medium	High			
		<i>Per cent</i>					
c. Lutheran:	341				11.40	<.05	.26
Member	157	22	30	48			
Nonmember	184	39	23	38			
d. Methodist:	40				2.35	>.05	.37
Member	16	50	•	50			
Nonmember	24	66	•	34			
e. "Other":	61				3.75	>.05	.38
Member	29	37	20	43			
Nonmember	32	53	28	19			
7. Size of farm (acres):							
a. 130 and above:	275				27.92	<.05	.44
Member	119	16	22	62			
Nonmember	156	42	26	32			
b. Less than 130:	251				9.43	<.05	.28
Member	102	25	22	53			
Nonmember	149	43	21	36			
8. Residence in locality (years):							
a. 10 or more:	428				34.45	<.05	.40
Member	190	16	22	62			
Nonmember	238	39	24	37			
b. Less than 10:	299				15.97	<.05	.33
Member	143	38	29	33			
Nonmember	156	62	19	19			
9. Family size (number):							
a. 3 or more:	377				24.19	<.05	.36
Member	183	23	26	51			
Nonmember	194	47	22	31			
b. 2 or less:	348				18.24	<.05	.33
Member	148	28	25	47			
Nonmember	200	50	21	29			

*Because of small sample size, this factor was dichotomized.

THE REFINED INDEX

In order to construct as valid an index of neighborhood interaction as possible, it seemed desirable to test other variables for association with neighborhood membership. Of a number of additional variables which a *posteriori* evidence suggested might be so related, five were found to be associated. These were attendance at school plays, number of service centers

patronized, frequency of visits with nonrelatives, membership in open-country or hamlet-centered organizations, and membership in county-wide organizations.¹⁰

¹⁰ Since no attempt was being made at this point to approximate theoretical generalizations, the restriction that the place of participation must be within a 5-mile radius and outside urban or platted areas was not applied in the case of these variables.

TABLE 3. INTERCORRELATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH NEIGHBORHOOD MEMBERSHIP

Item number	Item number					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.....	1.000					
2.....	.488	1.000				
3.....	.258	.277	1.000			
4.....	.185	.449	.095	1.000		
5.....	.110	.104	.026	.177	1.000	
6.....	.000	.119	.017	.208	.174	1.000

Identification of items:

1. Number of service centers patronized.
2. Church attendance.*†
3. Grocery purchases.*†
4. Participation in church-related organizations.*
5. Participation in school-related organizations.*
6. Participation in parties.*

*Where participation occurred within a 5-mile radius of respondent's home, and outside of platted or incorporated areas.

†Dichotomous classification—quantified by scoring 2 for participation in the activity and 1 for nonparticipation.

TABLE 4. DERIVATION OF WEIGHTS FOR CORRELATION OF VARIABLES WITH FIRST FACTOR

Item number	Stable weight of variable with factor	Correlation of variable with factor
1.....	.825	.681
2.....	1.000	.825
3.....	.578	.477
4.....	.799	.659
5.....	.410	.338
6.....	.363	.299

Note: See Table 3 for identification of items.

In all, thirteen variables were found to be associated individually with neighborhood membership. For the six which meet the assumptions underlying factor analysis, intercorrelations were computed (Table 3) and factor loadings derived (Table 4). It is apparent that the four variables most highly correlated with the first factor involve two rural institutions: the church and the store.

It was assumed that the first factor which was identified could best provide weights for predicting neighborhood membership. Thus a weighted

and transformed equation was derived which yielded a mean of "100" and a point of origin at "0," as follows:

$$I' = 21.02X_1 + 24.71X_2 + 19.67X_3 + 17.19X_4 + 9.74X_5 + .44X_6.$$

Index scores based on this index equation were assigned to each family.²⁰ A significant and moderate amount of association ($\bar{C} = .58$) between these scores and neighborhood membership was found to exist. If \bar{C} were equivalent to r in these tests, neighborhood membership would explain approximately 12 per cent of the variance in "crude" scores and about 33 per cent in refined scores. Thus, while the power of the refined index when used as a device for predicting neighborhood

²⁰ No test was made of the reliability of the refined index; however, rough tests of validity were made by correlating refined index scores with those derived from the crude index ($r = +.69$), and by making direct association tests with neighborhood membership. The low correlation coefficient between the two indexes is understandable when allowance is made for the fact that all individual items in the crude index were not associated with neighborhood membership and the weights were not standardized.

membership is not high, prediction could be increased nearly threefold by using it rather than the "crude" index which is based on current theory.

In an effort to identify conditions that would possibly limit the association between neighborhood membership and neighborhood interaction, and thus the predictive utility of the refined index, all variables associated with these scores were alternately controlled through partial association procedures, as in the case of the crude index. The relationship was maintained between neighborhood membership and refined-index scores under almost all conditions.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of this study, the general hypothesis that neighborhood membership is not associated with certain forms of interaction stated in theory as being characteristic of rural neighborhoods must be rejected. Thus, so far as has been determined here, membership in rural neighborhoods has about the same effect on the social interaction of families as that ascribed to it in sociological theory. Two rural institutions, the church and the store, appear to be prominently involved in the behavior of neighborhood members. However, certain of the ascribed associative patterns were found not to be characteristic of neighborhood members—which suggests that modification of some portions of neighborhood theory is in order.

Because of the *primary* nature of the interactions which were analyzed, the results suggest that the rural neighborhood has social-psychological implications. Many activities found to be associated with neighborhood member-

ship centered around prominent rural social systems, such as the school and the church. That the neighborhood plays a prominent role in promoting values pertaining to rural schools, churches, and other social systems is a possible implication of these findings.

While the refined neighborhood interaction index proved to be a far better predictor of neighborhood membership than the crude index which was designed to reflect generalizations found in current theory, the predictive power of the refined index is not high enough to merit the use of it alone for determining neighborhood membership. There is good reason to believe, however, that its predictive power and practical utility could be increased through more comprehensive analysis and additional tests of validity and reliability. As it now stands, the refined index will help in observing changes in intensity of neighborhood interaction over periods of time, while giving limited assistance in predicting membership.

Regarding the limitations of this study, it should be admitted that the controls employed were crude; consequently, factors not accounted for may have affected the findings. The data on interaction patterns, while gathered and analyzed with care, may be inadequate—for reasons unknown.

Finally, there is a great need for objective studies—carefully designed and executed—to test the many rough and unsubstantiated generalizations that are prevalent concerning the consequences of membership in rural social organizations. These studies should be made if the theory and practice of rural sociology are to be advanced.

RURAL LIFE IN A MASS-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY*

by Lowry Nelson†

ABSTRACT

Our present society is a mass-industrial one, and the farm population of the United States is now part of the mass audience with the nonagricultural people. The farmer is now an organic segment of a national economy, and there is an unprecedented degree of interdependence with the general economy. Moreover, the farmer is involved in a process of desegregation as to the social institutions in which he participates. The open country has been invaded by nonfarm people, and the level of living of farm people is approaching that of other segments.

The attitudinal and value-systems differences attributed to rural and urban people are also diminishing, although differences remain. However, the diversity among farmers may be as great as among other occupational groups, and there is evidence that traits and reactions shown to characterize farmers may be more related to a lower educational level than to occupation or residence. Over time, it seems certain that farmers and others will become more similar in their reactions on matters basic to our survival as a nation.

The phrase "mass-industrial society" has come into rather general usage to characterize present society in the United States. For present purposes it will be useful to consider "mass society," according to a definition by Arnold M. Rose, as "a social situation characterized by numerous and frequent formation of people into audiences—in which communication is one way from a leader or propagandist and there is very little interaction among members."¹ In a mass society, a whole population may be subjected to the same streams of stimuli emanating from a common center. The relationship is that of all-to-one, rather than all-to-all. An industrial society is distinguished by the preponderance of nonagricultural over agricultural production, and therefore of urban over rural population.

Mass-industrial society has been for

a long time, and remains still, in the throes of two concurrent and closely related "revolutions": the one having to do with the arts and technology of communication, the other with the application of technology to the industrial processes. Both "revolutions" are of ancient origin and represent, in fact, the long process of human development and social change. There have been times when the rate of development was slow and others when it was rapid. The harnessing of steam to industry ushered in the most dramatic changes in modern times, but the impact of this invention was scarcely less than that of the internal combustion engine of more recent times. It is the latter, along with a number of scientific discoveries in the field of electronics, which has created the mass-industrial society as we know it. And one of the more significant developments of this recent period of accelerated change is the bringing together of the rural and urban portions of the nation, into the same audience, and an integrated economy.

The crucial characteristics of our so-called "mass-industrial society" are the following:

*A paper presented at the joint session of the American Sociological Society and the Rural Sociological Society, at Detroit, Mich., Sept., 1956.

†University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.

¹Sociology: *The Study of Human Relations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956), p. 284, n.

1. *The extraordinary extent to which the machine has been substituted for human labor:* This is true not only in industry, where the new word "automation" has been coined to mark the all-but-total displacement of men; but is true also, albeit to a somewhat lesser extent, in agriculture.

2. *The spread to the entire population of mechanisms of communication, including notably radio and television, but also the daily metropolitan press as well:* This is a recent development as far as farm people are concerned. While the radio was a rather common possession among farm people by 1940, most sets were battery-operated and not always in running order. Since 1940, the farms of the country have been electrified almost totally. The equipment of these farms with television sets is proceeding at such a rapid pace that it will be a matter of only a few short years until it also is practically complete. Also under the heading of "communication" must be listed rapid transit. With virtually every farm provided with truck or auto transportation, and all-weather roads a commonplace throughout the countryside, the majority of the farm families of the nation may be regarded, not too inaccurately, as suburban dwellers. There is but a small proportion of farms indeed that today are not within a commuter's distance of a town or city of considerable size. Thus, within the past decade and a half, the farm dwellers of the United States have become part of the mass audience, subjected to the same stimuli as the other segments of the population.

We may thus refer, without being unrealistic, to two revolutions—the one "industrial" and the other "communicational." Both are the result of the insatiable American appetite for, and ability to consume, new technology.

CHANGES IN FARMING

From the standpoint of the agricultural economy, the new technology has brought such excessive production as to create chronic insecurity in the market place. Government intervention to prevent disastrous price drops has become a necessity, and an accepted part of national policy. It is in the very nature of farming that those who are engaged in it cannot solve the crises of abundance by themselves. And the crises of abundance are a chronic aspect of the new technology. It should be widely understood by non-farmers—but apparently is not—that four million entrepreneurs cannot possibly combine in a voluntary agreement to restrict the flow of agricultural commodities. No matter how low the price may go, a farmer must plant all his acres, because it may be the yield of the "last ten" which will enable him to pay his taxes and buy gas and oil for his tractor. Other parts of the economy may and do restrict output as the market demand may justify; but this is not possible for the farmer. This is why government intervention is necessary.

This current situation of the farmer is a far cry from that which faced the pioneer settler. The latter was animated by an expansion psychosis which spurred him on, with never a thought that a time would come when the surplus yield of his land would not be wanted by people in the cities. He aimed at diversifying his output, because a good share of it would be consumed on the farm. He produced his own "motor" power and the "fuel" to keep it going. He provided his family with milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables from the family garden. He exchanged some of the things he grew with neighbors, for items which he did not produce. He aimed to have enough surplus to pay the store bill, the taxes, and the interest and prin-

capital on the mortgage. However, complete self-sufficiency was rare, even in the frontier period, and in any case was a transitory phenomenon. But the degree to which it existed was in sharp contrast with the present situation. Production for the market has encouraged specialization to a degree unknown in the earlier days. In those days, the advice to farmers from the agricultural experts was "don't put all your eggs in one basket." Now the advice is more often to do that which you can do best and most efficiently. And, usually, the more the individual concentrates on one kind of production, the fewer "headaches" he is likely to have. Whether it is a chicken farm, hog farm, fruit farm, or a dairy, each has its own list of hazards in plant and animal pests and diseases, weather problems, and the like.

Specialization along with mechanization has made the farmer dependent in various ways. He is, of course, dependent on the market, because he is less sufficient unto himself. He must have cash to pay the electric bill, pay installments on appliances, buy the tractor and pay for its fuel, and, in addition, buy groceries from the supermarket like his urban brothers. Farmers who specialize in wheat and potato production keep no animals at all. They must go to town periodically to buy milk! The keeping of animals is a specialty itself. This is not to say or imply that all farming in the United States is thus specialized. However, the trend toward such specialization in recent years has been marked, and may be expected to remain a characteristic of our agriculture.

The dependence on town and city for meeting so many of his needs places the farmer, without his willing it, in a partnership with urban workers and entrepreneurs. This dependence can be dramatized by trying to imagine what would happen on American farms

if the gasoline and oil supply should be shut off for a couple of months during the planting or harvesting seasons. Paralysis would be practically complete. Smaller crises would result from prolonged shutdowns of factories making replacement parts for tractors and the machine attachments.

Thus, the farmer today is no longer a part-time participant in the commercial world—but an organic segment of a national economy in which he participates with business and labor. He is dependent upon cash income, as is the factory worker or the businessman, to meet his daily needs and those of his family.

How does he identify himself, with "business" or with "labor"? This is an old question, and one for which there is no certain answer for all occasions. In reality, the farmer is, at one and the same time, laborer, entrepreneur and, if you will, capitalist. In days of feudalism, it would not have been difficult to answer the question by the word *laborer*. It would be a simple matter to identify the peasants today throughout much of the world from Sicily eastward as laborers. But for the American farmer to choose whether to call himself worker or businessman is not so simple. When he is reminded of the importance of the industrial workers as consumers of food and fiber, he can readily appreciate the importance of steady work and good wages for the industrial worker. When he feels the impact of strikes in the scarcity of things he needs, or notes the rising cost of such goods as industrial wages rise, he is not so sure of his natural partnership with labor.²

² See Paul H. Johnstone, "On the Identification of the Farmer," *Rural Sociology*, V:1 (Mar., 1940), pp. 32-45. "The small free-holding class a century or so ago tended generally to identify themselves with the underdog element of society. Since then, however, the complex of social

[footnote continued on next page]

In the green risings of the past, the target for the American farmer's wrath has been the businessman, usually designated the "middle man," "Big Biz," "Wall Street," etc. While it is safe to say that these shibboleths no longer stir the farmer's anger as they once did, they are still used in the promotional literature of some farm organizations. The truth is that the modern commercial farmer finds it more difficult to identify the object of his troubles. The causes of his distress are more numerous and complex. But it would seem a valid observation that it is easier for the demagogue to stir up rural antipathy to urban labor than to the businessman. The farmer today who operates a crop-livestock farm of, say, 200 acres is manager of an enterprise involving probably an investment of around \$50,000. He may employ very little labor outside his own family. Under such circumstances, he must apply "business methods," as the Agricultural Extension Service has been telling him for the past forty years.

The technological advances in American life, including its agricultural aspect, have pressed the farmer further and further from self-sufficiency, caused him to specialize in what he produces, made him dependent upon town and urban worker for the supplies needed to carry on production, made more complex his social relations with business and labor; in short, completely integrated him into the national economy.

forces that have served to accelerate the commercialization of agriculture and the urbanization of country life, and the educational influence of the professional leadership of agriculture have driven the more prosperous strata of farm people increasingly in the direction of identification economically with the businessman and socially with the urban and small town middle class" (p. 32).

RURAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Socially, the American farmer is involved in a process of desegregation. Up to the recent past, the rural school, the rural church, and other social organizations of the countryside were of, by, and for, farmers and their families. The thousands of one-room schools which dotted the open country were almost exclusively for farm children, while the open-country churches were supported and attended almost entirely by farm families. The towns and villages had their own institutions, although it cannot be said that they were not shared to some extent by the families on the neighboring farms.

This situation has changed drastically within a very brief period of time. For example, there were 113,600 one-room schools in 1940; 15 years later the number probably did not exceed 30,000. Farm families are now sending their children to the village school, to which they are transported daily by the school bus. Churches of the open country are consolidating with those in the villages and towns. Often the churches also run buses into the countryside to transport farm families to the village church.

Another trend of great importance for the social structure of rural life is the "invasion" of the open country by persons who are primarily engaged in nonfarm occupations in towns and cities. They may or may not be part-time farmers. In any case, they have larger lots than they would be able to have in the town or city, more space for the children, and opportunity for producing a garden to help feed the family. For example, a study in Henry County, Indiana—a comparatively rich farming area on the fringe of the Corn Belt—revealed these categories and percentages of household heads in a sample area of the open country: full-time farmers, 46; part-time farmers, 10; farm hands, 4; nonfarm work-

ers, 30; semiretired or retired, 10.³ If the part-time farmers are included with the nonfarm workers and the others, farmers are a minority. There are numerous other studies which reveal a similar growing heterogeneity in the open-country population. The outcome of this trend is again the more complete integration of the farm population with the Great Society. The rapid increase of the phenomenon of part-time farming, especially in the areas near cities and industrial plants, is bringing more and more farmers or members of farm families into contact with nonfarm occupations and the kind of social organization which characterizes people with those occupations. It would be of interest in this connection to know how many of the farm operators reported in the census are members of labor unions, or have a member of the family who belongs to one.

One could enumerate the many organizations in which the membership is changing to include both farm and nonfarm people, but the evidence is so clear from a few illustrative cases that elaboration is not necessary. The fact is that within the past two decades farmers and their families have moved very far toward integration with the nonfarm population in social organization. When one reflects upon the fact that a half-century ago the isolation of farm families was a severe problem in the United States—and recalls the further fact that for centuries in the Old World the peasant has represented a class apart from the main stream of society, isolated unto himself—one can only marvel at the consequences of the recent period of accelerated change.

Further evidence of the way in which farm people are being absorbed

into the generalized culture of the United States is the diminishing difference between them and the urbanites in matters related to level of living. There still exists a difference in education level, with the farm population lower than the urban; but the difference is rapidly closing. For example, in 1940 there was a difference of nearly 20 percentage points between farm and city in the proportion of 16- and 17-year-old boys and girls enrolled in school when the census was taken; but by 1950 the difference had narrowed to 12 percentage points. Housing has always been markedly poorer in farm than in city areas, but again the difference is growing less. From 1936 to 1955, the electrification of farm homes was almost completed. With electricity, automatic water systems become possible, not to mention the numerous electrical appliances. Farm people have made remarkable strides in narrowing the gap between city and country on this score. It may be pertinent also to record the fact that hospitals are more widely available to farm people than ever before. Rural births occur in hospitals under a physician's care in about the same proportion as those of the city. Birth rates of farm and city populations have always shown a differential in favor of the farm, but this has now almost entirely disappeared. Urban families are approaching in size those of the country.

THE FARMER'S WORLD OUTLOOK

It is easier to note the effects of recent technological and communication revolutions upon the economic and social aspects of farm life than to measure the impact upon the outlook of the farmer on the world. Yet the changes in values and attitudes, in the way in which he reacts to new ideas which conflict with traditional ones, and in his degree of tolerance of and appreciation for individuals and groups of

³ Paul J. Jehlik and J. Edwin Losey, *Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana*, Purdue University AES Bull. 568 (Lafayette, Ind., 1951), p. 47.

different cultures and characteristics with whom he comes into contact for the first time—these are much the most important consequences of his integration with the mass-industrial world.

The history of the agricultural class is characterized by a steady recession of its social, as well as geographic, horizons. If we go back in time only to the days of feudalism, we find the farmer's world largely limited to the boundaries of the manor. Save for occasional journeys to the market towns, the serf had little mobility. With the industrial revolution and the break-up of the feudal estate, there was an exodus from the land to the new industrial centers. Here in the factory, his hours of work were so long, and his level of living so low, that he had little opportunity to come to know more of the larger world beyond the factory than the town in which it was located. It remained for the discovery and settlement of North America to break down the status barriers of the Old World, which the immigrants knew so well. However, the vast new continent provided a new isolation, geographic as well as social. Until the opening of the twentieth century, the American farmer was waging a battle with the wilderness, and at the same time struggling for an even break in the market place. As a group, the farmers were sharply distinguishable from the rest of society. Periodically, they staged "revolts" against the growing domination of the urban-industrial complex, which they identified as the source of many of their troubles.

Because of the observable fact of the isolation, geographically and socially, of the farm population throughout so much of the world's history, it has been a common practice of writers to attribute to farm people attitudes, beliefs, and value systems which sharply

differentiate them from city people.⁴ The farmer is regarded variously by these writers as being more individualistic, more fatalistic, more conservative, more democratic, more puritanical, more susceptible to mass hysteria, more thrifty and frugal, more suspicious of strangers, more frank and outspoken, and as having various other characteristics. In surveying the long list of these qualities, one could easily get the impression that the farmer was a different breed entirely. It is doubtful that there is any American sociologist studying rural people today who would agree that the farmer collectively differs from other residential groups in so marked a degree.

From what has already been said about the social and economic situation of farm people today as the result of the impact of the industrial and communication "revolutions," one could hardly avoid concluding that changes in attitudes and general outlook must follow as a matter of course. But in this respect we have neither the measuring devices nor the convenient benchmarks to record the changes, as can be done with many social and economic phenomena. For example, the superior moral traits attributed to rural people as compared with those in the city, which were given by Ibn Khaldun and others, and the peculiar psycho-social traits others have ascribed to them, are

⁴E.g., see Ibn Khaldun, "Comparison of Rural and Urban People," in P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930), Vol. I, pp. 55-61; James M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1925); C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1933); L. L. Bernard, "A Theory of Rural Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII, p. 648; T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), chap. 6; C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life* (New York: The Century Co., 1923), chaps. 1, 2.

but the subjective evaluations of the individual writers concerned. They may or may not be valid judgments. Other writers, of course, make quite different judgments and challenge the validity of these generalizations. Thus, these statements are not to be considered as bench marks for measuring changes.

Nevertheless, some facts can be assembled which point to psycho-social differences and likenesses between farmers and other groups. In his presidential address before the Rural Sociological Society, in joint session with the American Sociological Society in 1952, Howard W. Beers discussed some differences in value orientation between rural and urban populations as reflected in public opinion polls.⁵ From the collection of polls contained in the volume edited by Hadley Cantril⁶ and in *Public Opinion Quarterly* through 1950,⁷ Beers counted "over three hundred" that permitted comparison "by some criterion of rurality," and from these he selected 47 items. The items were from polls taken during the period 1946 to 1950, concerned only opinions or attitudes, and were limited to those in which comparison could be made on the basis of occupational categories.⁸ Beers concludes as follows:

On most issues of national interest, the majorities of farmers express opinions consistent with and supported by the values and attitudes associated with orthodox (classical) sociological conceptions of the nature of rural society and

culture. On no issue of national interest do all farmers alone present a solid front of opinion either *pro* or *contra*. On all issues, there are divisions of *pro* and *con*, and intervening distributions—among farmers themselves, and among the members of any group. Unanimity is not found on any topic.

Strains of conservatism have influenced farmer pro-percentages and con-percentages most conspicuously in areas of personal and social concern, and least conspicuously in areas of international relations. . . .

Most reactions on public questions, labor issues, and economic functions of government betray also the operation of underlying rural values; but many of these issues deal with situations beyond the range of everyday contact, beyond the scope of intimate participation. They are not so close to the individual as are matters moral, social, and personal.⁹

There is little room for doubt that farmers, on the average, respond differently to certain opinion questions than do some other occupational groups. It is equally clear that not all farmers agree on any specific question. In short, the fact must always be kept in mind that farmers in the United States are a diverse lot. Beers rightly suggests that there may be differences by type of farming and cultural regions, income level, and tenure status. It may well be that the level of formal education is even more important than any of these. Moreover, farmers should be compared more directly with other occupational groups than is so frequently the case. How would farm owners compare with an entrepreneurial group of similar size of enterprise in the city on the question of organized labor, for example?

ARE FARMERS LESS TOLERANT THAN URBANITES?

A recent study by Stouffer reveals rather convincingly that there are differences according to residence in the willingness of people to tolerate non-

⁵ "Rural-Urban Differences: Some Evidence from Public Opinion Polls," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:1 (Mar., 1953), pp. 1-11.

⁶ *Public Opinion: 1935-1946* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).

⁷ *Public Opinion Quarterly*, X-XIV (1946-1950).

⁸ A wise decision. Many comparisons reported in the polls use "farm" as a residential category along with "town," "city," "urban," "metropolis," etc., ignoring the fact that farm is not only a residence, but an occupational group as well.

⁹ Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

conformists.¹⁰ In polls taken by two different polling agencies and involving a national cross section of 2,400 cases in each poll, questions were asked which were designed to show the degree of tolerance for the nonconformist (communist). Persons residing on farms were shown to be least tolerant, while those in metropolitan areas were most tolerant. Between these groups were those in other cities and small towns, with the small towns showing slightly less tolerance than the "other" cities. Southern farmers were less tolerant than those in the West, East, or Middle West (the regions used for analysis in the study).¹¹

A poll taken in Minnesota, by the Minnesota Poll, reveals similar differences between farm and other residence groups. Again, the farmer is shown to be less tolerant. In this poll, three questions were asked: (1) "Newspapers and magazines in the United States should be allowed to print anything they feel they should print, except military secrets. Do you agree or disagree?" (2) "Certain groups in this country should not be allowed to hold public meetings, even though they gather peaceably and only make speeches. Do you agree or disagree?" (3) "The government should not allow some people to make public speeches. Do you agree or disagree?"

The Stouffer report showed unmistakably that tolerance was associated with the amount of formal schooling. Since this relationship is so "strong," as he says, one might expect that, if this factor were held constant, the differences between farm and other residential groups would be less. Unfortunately, the total sample was so small that, when the five educational categories, four regions, and four commu-

nity types were cross-classified, there were few comparisons that could be made between farm people and the other three residential groups. However, in the case of the Middle West and the South, there were three educational categories which had at least twenty cases in each cell. The data are as follows:¹²

	Percentage classified as "more tolerant"			
	Farm	Small towns	Other cities	Metro- poll- tan areas
High-school graduates:				
Middle West..	45	32	43	40
South	24	13	18	29
Some high school:				
Middle West..	13	10	22	37
South	13	22	25	22
Grade school:				
Middle West..	9	10	23	21
South	14	8	6	14

It is notable that, in the case of the high-school graduates in the Middle West, the farm group was more tolerant than either of the other residence categories; and in the case of the Southern respondents in this educational category, the results favored the farm over the towns and "other cities." Only metropolitan areas had a higher percentage, and then not markedly so. In view of these data, one may well question whether Stouffer's conclusion is justified when he says: "We suspect that the main reasons why the Middle West is less tolerant than the East is the presence of its large rural population, which tends, like rural people everywhere, to be less tolerant than the urban populations."¹³

It is questionable whether the difference is due to the fact that people are "rural" or to the fact that their level of education is different. Another interesting question arises in re-

¹⁰ Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955), chap. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

gard to this and other studies which compare farm people with communities of various types and sizes. Such a comparison conceals what might prove to be a very important consideration—namely, that of occupation. In comparing farm residents with town, city, and metropolitan residents, the analyst has in the one case an occupationally homogeneous group, and occupational *heterogeneity* in the case of the other groups. It would be much more logical to compare a group of farm operators who were high-school graduates with a group of city or town entrepreneurs who were also high-school graduates. At the same time, in such a comparison, as many as possible of the other factors likely to influence tolerance should be controlled, including age, religion, and sex.

But it is not the purpose here to analyze in detail this excellent study. One can only wish that there were more such studies and express the hope that the Stouffer study might lead to others in this same field. What is of special interest for the present purpose is that it provides something of a bench mark against which change might be plotted in the future. The hypothesis might be stated as follows: Since most farm families of the United States are now part of the mass audience and being subjected to much the same stimuli as the nonagricultural segment, such farm people will tend to become more like nonfarmers in their *Weltanschauung*, in their way of looking at issues and events; in short, become more "tolerant" of nonconformists. This hypothesis could be tested by periodic studies in the future along the lines laid down by Stouffer.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INDUSTRIAL LABOR

One of the more important adjustments which the farm people must make as an integral part of mass-industrial society has to do with industrial labor, and especially organ-

ized labor. The adjustment should be reciprocal; that is, industrial workers also have the problem of adjusting to farm people. By adjustment here is meant the understanding that leads to tolerance of the other's point of view. The enactment of the so-called "right-to-work" laws, by various state legislatures in which rural representatives are dominant, reflects a certain rural antipathy to the "closed shop," which organized labor for its part regards with favor. Moreover, in an unprecedented action, the American Farm Bureau Federation recently filed a brief with the Supreme Court in which it supported the "right-to-work" principle in a key test of these laws. Said the story in the press of May 16, 1956:

Although the Farm Bureau has intervened in court tests of labor laws where they affected farm workers, the current case—brought by railway workers' unions challenging the Nebraska right-to-work law—is believed by Farm Bureau officials to be the first nonfarm labor-management test the AFBF has entered.

The fact the AFBF has filed an "*amicus curiae*" (friend-of-the-court) brief is interesting in the light of an apparently widening breach between the big, conservative farm group and organized labor.

The apparent lack of sympathy between branches of organized labor and organized agriculture also became evident in 1951 when the American Federation of Labor "broke off its hitherto friendly relations with the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange." On August 9, 1951, the press quoted William Green, president of AFL at the time, as saying:

On economic issues of vital concern to the national welfare, it has become difficult to discern any major difference between the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange on the one hand, and that of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce on the other.¹⁴

¹⁴ *New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1951.

In the fall of 1955, *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead* ran a poll of Iowa farm people to get their opinions on labor unions. The results were as follows:¹⁵

	Per cent
1. Labor unions are doing a fine job..	5
2. Doing more good than harm.....	51
3. Doing more harm than good.....	19
4. Country better off without them..	11
5. Undecided	14

Another poll, taken in the spring of 1955, has somewhat more significance for our purposes, since it asked opinion regarding the union shop and reported results according to whether the respondent had "always farmed" or had "once held a job in town." The results:¹⁶

	Always farmed Per cent	Once held town job Per cent
1. Against union shop...	41	22
2. For union shop.....	38	69
3. Undecided	21	9

The significance of this latter poll lies in the fact that those who had had contact with town jobs and labor unions manifested little opposition to the union shop. Since more and more operators of farms and members of their families are acquiring town job experience and learning about labor unions, such prejudices as exist may logically be expected to attenuate.¹⁷

CONCLUDING COMMENT

It has been shown that the farm population of the United States, as of

1956, is part of the mass audience with the nonagricultural segment of the population. This is a much more recent attainment for the farm people than for others, owing to the recency of the diffusion of such phases of the industrial revolution as electrification, rapid motor transport over all-weather roads, and related phenomena.

The farm economy is now intermeshed with the general economy to such an extent that there is an unprecedented degree of interdependence. The capacity to produce food and fiber has been so greatly enhanced as to make for huge surpluses over consumption capacity, and a chronic crisis in the market place for the farmer. This is the second great outgrowth of the current industrial revolution; the other is the interdependence of town and farm already mentioned.

If town and farm are perforce partners in the productive enterprise, more and more they are likewise to become partners in participation in schools, churches, local government, and all other institutions of society. Social integration as well as economic is becoming more and more a fact.

Opinions regarding basic problems of American society will differ among farmers as among other occupational or residential groups. It may be expected that differences in some respects—for example, on civil rights—may become less as the level of education rises throughout society, and the differences among and between groups—rural or urban—may tend to become less.

Most opinion polls in which education is reported indicate little difference by education categories between farmers and other groups on a number of issues. There is need for more studies, of a less superficial character than the polls, to ascertain the trends regarding the differing reactions as between farmers and other occupational

¹⁵ *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, Sept. 17, 1955.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr. 2, 1955.

¹⁷ In this connection, a very interesting study of rural migrants from North and South employed in a large midwestern factory was made by Charles N. LeBeaux, for his Ph.D. dissertation: "Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers" (University of Michigan, 1954). On some factors, such as satisfaction with pay, the rural migrants were more satisfied than the urban people; but when education was held constant, the differences decreased.

groups. It seems certain, however, that over time we may achieve a greater degree of similarity of reaction between various groups on questions basic to our survival as a national group. At the same time, it may be regarded as equally certain that, on the less basic questions, opinions will continue to differ; and it will not be surprising if

the differences among farmers will be as great as those among occupational groups in the city. There is no such entity as *the* farmer. There are numerous categories, each with varying interests. Because of their differing interests, it is to be expected that they will react differently on many issues of the day.

ENVIRONMENT-PERSONALITY RELATIONSHIPS

by Leonard A. Ostlund†

ABSTRACT

Data were obtained from 296 college freshmen concerning significant factors in their personality formation. The students came mostly from rural areas and were enrolled in a land-grant college. A total of 1,113 responses were categorized by means of content analysis, according to environment and personality variables. Since only 7 per cent of the responses involved negative factors, this report is largely concerned with the positive factors, and it is clear that the responses are biased toward the positive relationships.

Analysis of specific influences indicated that home, church, and school exerted the greatest influence upon traits and values. Over-all, community group relationships were mentioned more often than primary group relationships. Half of the personality descriptions were in terms of traits; the remainder were in terms of values, interests, and abilities. Sex differences in number and type of response were not large, but they fitted cultural patterns.

The data were interpreted in terms of American cultural patterns, and in the framework of adolescence as a period of marginality. The results support expectations and hypotheses based upon population characteristics. Practical applications are suggested.

THE PROBLEM

The general problem of the research reported here was to study adolescent personality from a phenomenological viewpoint, in terms of what adolescents reported concerning the most important environmental influences upon their own personality formation. The specific problem was to determine the relative weight of environmental influences and personality characteristics, and the interrelationships between them.

One of the earliest psychological studies was *Adolescence*, by G. Stanley Hall, which appeared in 1904.¹ During the past generation, some studies of college-age adolescents have appeared which were akin to the present research with regard to methodology, population, and goals.²

†Kent State University, Kent, Ohio; formerly, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.

¹G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence* (2 vols.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1911).

²Cf. John E. Horrocks, *The Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin

The general hypothesis of the study was that personality, though biologically based, is principally the outcome

Co., 1951); Raymond G. Kuhlen, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952); Leonard A. Ostlund, "A Matrix for the Representation of Environmental-Personality Relationships," *Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science*, XXXIV (1954); *idem*, "An Evaluation of a General Education Program," *School and Society*, 81 (1955), pp. 6-8; *idem*, "A Sociometric Matrix," *Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science*, XXXIII (1953), pp. 189-190; J. G. Patrick, "Role of Intimate Groups in the Personality Development of Selected College Men," *Journal of Higher Education*, VI (1935), pp. 385-386; Ross Stagner, "Economic Status and Personality," *School and Society*, 42 (1935), pp. 551-552; *idem*, *Psychology of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948); S. A. Stouffer, "Experimental Comparison of a Statistical and a Case-History Technique of Attitude Research," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, No. 25 (1954), p. 154; Mildred B. Thurow, *A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Autobiographies*, Cornell University AES Memo. 171 (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954); and Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952).

of individual interactions with people who propagate culture and progeny concomitantly. One guiding concept was that personality mirrors culture. Since the subjects were college freshmen in Oklahoma, it was predicted that patterns of American culture, and/or Oklahoma subculture, would appear in the data. Lewin's conceptualization of the adolescent as a marginal individual³ was also an important frame of reference, since the subjects were upon the threshold of maturity and were living independently for the first time, choosing careers, and experiencing the social and academic impacts of college life.

STUDY DESIGN

Subjects.—The subjects were freshmen in the liberal arts division of a state college whose enrollment totaled about 7,000. The goal was to secure responses from all students in a required freshman orientation course, in order to obtain data characteristic of the group. A small number of atypical students were omitted; these included Negroes, married students, special students, and non-freshmen. They totaled 5 per cent, and about 10 per cent did not participate due to unavailability. Another 10 per cent provided responses that could not be categorized. This reduced the population to 296.

Data.—The students were assigned a theme, "Significant Factors in My Personality Formation." They were encouraged to think and write carefully about their experiences. The rationale for the assignment was the hope that it would lead to some degree of self-insight. Moreover, the themes were to be filed and made available to advisers.

The themes ranged in length from four to thirty pages. Half of them were handwritten, and all included

summaries. In addition, the students filled out a background-information form. This proved valuable in screening atypical students and as a check for illegible or ambiguous information. The summaries comprised the raw data and yielded 600 responses by 162 males and 513 responses by 134 females, a total of 1,113 responses by 296 freshmen.

Inherent Difficulties.—The use of personal documents involves limitations which have been stressed by many authors.⁴ The scope of the present study was limited in that the subjects were drawn from a single classification at one college. Therefore, generalization of the results to other populations would be unwarranted. Yet the data are representative of the population as defined, since responses were contributed by 75 per cent of the total population. Positive bias was evident, for only 7 per cent of the responses concerned factors having unfavorable results in personality formation. Moreover, a qualitative analysis revealed no reports of experiences involving sexual or illegal behavior. This was due probably to the fact that the themes were to be graded and filed. Undoubtedly, unconscious repression and compensation for current adjustment problems functioned in a similar manner. Unfortunately, techniques which might have extended the behavior continuum into negative areas were beyond the resources of the writer.

A chronological bias was evident, as the data involved a preponderance of high-school experiences. This myopic time perspective might have resulted

³ Kurt Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951).

⁴ Cf. Gordon Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*, Social Science Research Council Bull. 49 (New York, 1942); Carter U. Good and Douglas E. Scates, *Methods of Research* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954); Stagner, *Psychology of Personality*, op. cit.

from fading memory traces, or lack of interest in probing beyond recent events. It was possible, too, that some subjects had identified erroneously the environmental influences or personality characteristics. Moreover, divergent frames of reference would be expected to produce differences in definitions.

Furthermore, the researcher's reduction method, which involved simple relationships, violated the psychological principle that behavior is complex in origin and outcome. Yet, expediency dictated this approach. Finally, there was no check upon truthfulness. However, evidence based upon a critical reading of themes and summaries indicated that the majority of the reports seemed genuine, though biased.

Possible Alternative Procedures.—Alternatives were considered and discarded. It was believed that a structured assignment might have been fulfilled perfunctorily and unthinkingly. Then, too, saliency would be masked. A recent study indicated significant differences between results obtained from structured and from non-structured theme assignments.⁸ Spontaneous sampling was not believed feasible, since data gathered without prior notice might have been influenced unduly by temporary mood. Anonymous sampling was not deemed advisable; there would have been no certainty of revealing the more obscure or repressed personality influences and relationships, and the responses might have been characterized by exaggeration or a minimum degree of motivation. A complementary study of negative aspects was not attempted because it was believed that this would function as a negative bias. However, recognition of the limitations led to

the incorporation of scientific checks wherever possible.

Despite the limitations, it seemed profitable to explore the positive areas of the behavior spectrum; and the present study was not without some advantages. Because the research involved personal documents, the freshman population was desirable. They represented the most naïve group of college students. In many reports, glowing idealism was reflected in clichés concerning cultural values. Moreover, the present research involved a large number of subjects, responses, and relationships.

METHODOLOGY

Scoring.—The unit of measurement was defined as, "The largest number of environmental influences and/or personality characteristics mentioned in a single statement." For example, the statement, "Parents and brothers gave me a feeling of belongingness," was scored twice: parents-belongingness, and siblings-belongingness. Though one statement could produce multiple entries, the majority did not.

Each response was scored according to three criteria: environmental influence, personality characteristic, and affective tone. Judgments concerning the latter were based upon the respondent's report, or were rated by the judges. An example of an event judged unfavorably by the respondent was, "Going to a revival where people acted wildly gave me a dim view of religion." The statement, "My limp made me less self-confident," was rated in the unfavorable category by the judges.

Categories.—The following categories of environmental influences and personality characteristics which have been considered important by many investigators were formulated and defined. All categories are mutually ex-

⁸ Paul J. Danielson and J. Rothney, "The Student Autobiography: Structured and Unstructured," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXIII (1954), pp. 30-33.

clusive. Because of the lack of space, definitions have been omitted:⁶

RESPONSE CATEGORIES

Environmental Influences:

- Physique
- Primary group relationships:
 - Parents
 - Siblings
 - Relatives
 - Friends
 - Romantic attachments
- Community organizations:
 - Church
 - Schools
 - Clubs
 - Military
- Community environment:
 - House
 - Community (animal-physical)
 - Community (personal)
- Activities:
 - Hobbies
 - Work
 - Sports
 - Travel

Personality Characteristics:

- Values:
 - Religious beliefs
 - Ethical standards
 - Life philosophy
- Traits:
 - Social adaptability
 - Social understanding
 - Character
 - Belongingness
 - Independence
 - Self-confidence
 - Responsibility
 - Tolerance
 - Manners
 - Cooperativeness
- Interests:
 - Work
 - Education
- Abilities:
 - Skills
 - Information

Judging Method.—After the categories had been formulated, the writer and another judge categorized a group of responses independently. Then the judges conferred concerning differences, and modified the categories. Af-

ter two additional independent coding sessions had resulted in a high degree of agreement, the categories were frozen. Thereafter, all statements were categorized by both judges simultaneously, working together as a team.⁷ Differences in judgment were resolved in terms of the rationale and definitions of the categories.

The Environment-Personality Matrices.—After various methods of charting the data had been attempted, the correlation matrix principle was adopted. The matrices used were designed by the writer and consisted of cells arranged in *y* and *x* axes, as have been used in other studies.⁸

The matrix of specific relationships consisted of 18 rows of environmental influences and 20 columns of personality characteristics (those listed above, plus three miscellaneous categories later omitted). Subdivision of each cell into four subcells permitted each judgment to be scored simultaneously in three dimensions. The environmental influence and personality characteristics relationship was scored by finding the appropriate cell at the junction of a row and column. The two upper cell subdivisions were for males' responses, the lower two for females'. The upper and lower left-hand subdivisions were for favorable responses; the upper and lower right-hand subdivisions were for unfavorable responses.

The matrix yielded the following data: males' responses, females' responses, combined responses, and negative and positive totals. Moreover,

⁷ The writer is indebted to Mary Seago for her assistance in judging.

⁸ Cf. Robert E. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950); Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); Ostlund, "A Matrix for the Representation of Environmental-Personality Relationships," *op. cit.*; *idem*, "A Sociometric Matrix," *op. cit.*

⁶ The writer will welcome correspondence concerning definitions and rationale.

TABLE 1. ENVIRONMENT-PERSONALITY MATRIX*
(favorable relationships only)

Environmental influences (generic categories)	Personality characteristics (generic categories)				
	Values	Traits	Interests	Abilities	Total
Physique.....	.00 .01	.00 .02	.00 .01	.00 .00	.00 .04
Primary group relationships..	.04 .07	.15 .21	.03 .04	.01 .00	.23 .32
Community organizations.....	.10 .13	.16 .14	.03 .04	.05 .02	.34 .33
Community environment.....	.01 .01	.06 .06	.02 .01	.02 .01	.11 .09
Activities.....	.02 .01	.13 .06	.03 .02	.05 .02	.23 .11
Total.....	.17 .23	.50 .49	.11 .12	.13 .05	.91 .89

*The numbers represent response frequencies as percentages of all responses. The upper number indicates males' responses and the lower number represents females'. The data consisted of 600 responses from 162 males and 513 responses from 134 females. For males and females combined, 90 per cent of the responses were favorable.

it was possible to analyze specific environmental-personality relationships, as well as the relative weight of environmental influences and personality characteristics. Because of the wide scatter of frequencies among the large number of cells, the specific matrix was inspected cursorily in order to determine the most important relationships. The data were then summarized to more manageable proportions in a generic matrix (Table 1).

The generic matrix was constructed by grouping aspects of the specific matrix under general headings. This resulted in five rows of environmental influences and four columns of personality characteristics, and permitted analysis in the same way as the specific matrix. Because unfavorable responses totaled only 7 per cent, they have been omitted from the matrix in Table 1.

It was realized that these complex data might have been approached from divergent frames of reference. Each would have dictated its own tech-

niques, which would have influenced the results. However, the methodology reported here seemed appropriate to the data and goals of the study.

RESULTS

The first section of the data analysis concerns males' and females' responses combined, and proceeds from specific to generic factors. This is followed by a consideration of sex differences and negative factors. Rank and importance of the relationships, influences, and characteristics are indicated by relative frequencies, given in percentages based on the total mentions of each. Since all figures are percentages, per cent has been omitted, for the most part.

Specific Relationships.—The largest frequency was for the church-religious beliefs relationship (5.5 per cent of all relationships mentioned). Only twenty of the remaining specific relationships had frequencies of more than 1 per cent. Because of the wide scatter and low frequencies, interpretation

would have been dubious. Instead, attention was turned to the relative weight of the specific category totals. In the following analyses, frequencies of less than 5 per cent have not been interpreted.

Relative Weight of Specific Factors.

—Of the specific environmental influences, only four amounted to 5 per cent or more, and these included 57.5 per cent of the environmental influences: parents, 21; church, 15.5; school, 13; and work, 8. It was mentioned previously that the majority of the reports concerned teen-age experiences. This may account for the fact that parents, church, and school were the three most important environmental influences. These factors involved a variety of psychologically meaningful personal and social contacts.

With regard to personality characteristics, only seven amounted to 5 per cent or more. They accounted for 55.5 per cent of the personality characteristics. The percentages were: ethical standards, 11; social adaptability, 10.5; miscellaneous traits, 9; self confidence, 7; religious beliefs, 6.5; work skills, 6; and information skills, 5.5. They encompassed these areas of the self-image: religious and ethical value systems, social and personal impact, and useful tool skills.

Generic Relationships.—Six of the twenty generic relationships had frequencies of more than 5 per cent, and accounted for 65.5 per cent of the generic relationships, as follows: primary group relationships—traits, 18; community organizations—traits, 15; community organizations—values, 11.5; activities—traits, 9.5; community environment—traits, 6; and primary group relationships—values, 5.5. It was clear that various influences upon traits seemed important.

Relative Weight of Generic Factors.

—Environmental influences were re-

ported in the following order of frequency: community organizations, 33.5; primary group relationships, 27.5; activities, 17; community environment, 10; and physique, 2. The first two, representing experiences in the family and community organizations, account for 61 per cent of all environmental influences.

Personality characteristics were reported in the following order: traits, 49.5; values, 20; interests, 11.5; and abilities, 9. These figures suggest that when adolescents talked about personality, they were concerned largely with self-descriptions in terms of central characteristics such as traits and values, rather than interests and abilities, which may be regarded as more peripheral to the self-image.

Sex Differences.—Sex differences in the mean frequency of responses were slight. Males had an average of 3.7 responses, and the females' average was 3.8. Analysis of response categories also revealed that sex differences were not great. Concerning environment-personality relationships, the largest difference involved the influences of primary groups upon traits, for which there was a difference of 6 percentage points, with the females higher. Among environmental influences, activities were mentioned more by males, with a difference of 12 percentage points; primary groups were mentioned more by females, with a difference of 9. With regard to personality characteristics, abilities were reported more by males (difference, 8), and values were reported more by females (difference, 6). Females' reports of influences due to physique totaled 4 per cent, those of males less than 1 per cent. A qualitative study revealed that these influences comprised physical handicaps which had been overcome.

Negative Factors.—Only 7 per cent of the responses involved unfavorable effects. The only relationship worthy of mention was the negative influence of primary groups, which was 3 per cent for each sex. Evidently those closest to an individual were able to influence him adversely.

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

The most important finding was that the data mirrored some patterns of the general American culture and the specific Oklahoma culture. This provided orientation for the organization and interpretation of the results.

Of the specific factors, home, church, and school had the greatest influence upon traits and values. This suggests that, because adolescence is characterized by a quest for anchoring points, the influences of home, church, and school focused upon areas essential to the self-image.

Moreover, for traits and values combined there was only a slight difference between influences from primary groups (23.5 per cent), and those from community organizations (26.5 per cent). The similar weight of these influences might have been due to the intimate nature of these interpersonal contacts. It seemed to the writer that the similarity might be interpreted also in the light of the marginal status of late adolescence. Characteristically, the late adolescent shuttles in psychological locomotion between family and environmental groups in his search for independence.

Among the generic categories of environmental influences, community organizations had the largest influence. This may reflect a large degree of dependence upon community organizations by the inhabitants of this region. The communities of the region are highly organized, and there are 246 student organizations on the campus.

The community organization category is weighted heavily with influ-

ences from churches and schools. Churches in this region are numerous and highly organized. Moreover, all fraternities and sororities hold weekly devotions, and there are 25 religious organizations on the campus. Broadcasts of religious programs, camp meetings, and revivals are more numerous than in other localities.

The schools from which the students came were small, and preponderantly rural. Oklahoma ranks twenty-third in population density—32.4 per square mile—as compared with 67.5 for California, 309.3 for New York, and 50.6 for the United States as a whole.⁹ In small, rural schools, there is a tendency to involve every student in activities through sheer necessity, because of limited manpower; in large urban schools, however, pressures to participate might not be so strong. In rural localities, community organizations assume a greater influence. They satisfy the psychological needs of adolescents by providing virtually the only sources outside the home for interpersonal relationships and activities. In contrast, urban areas afford many outlets.

Next most often mentioned were primary relationships, largely home influences. Although there was a difference of only 6 percentage points from the frequency for community organizations, there is a question as to why parental influences did not appear the most important. It may be that home influences upon personality formation were waning, due to the marginal status of the adolescent.

Third in rank among environmental influences was activities, and fourth was community environment. This suggested that personality formation was not influenced greatly by activities or nonpersonal, ecological factors.

⁹ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954* (75th ed.; Washington, D. C.: U. S. Gov't Printing Office, 1954).

Analysis of environmental influences suggests that parents constitute the most important influence upon personality formation, and that the influence of school and church is not far behind. Moreover, the combined influences of parents, church, and school included 49.5 per cent of all influences. This reflects the American cultural pattern in that these three factors have probably the greatest opportunity to influence personality formation. This may be a function of the usually close, interpersonal relationships enduring over a long period of time, which is characteristic of school, church, and home environment.

Analysis of personality characteristics revealed that these adolescents favored self-description in terms of central psychological properties. Traits and values were emphasized rather than interests and abilities. They described themselves more in terms of "who I am" rather than "what I do." This seemed a cultural reflection, since these naïve subjects responded in terms of popular traits. Moreover, it may be that interests are not too important to adolescents. Then, too, since adolescence is a period of changing interests, interests may not have been considered worthy of mention.

In general, sex differences were not large; they should not be overlooked, but neither should they be exaggerated. One difference was in influences from physique, almost all of which were reported by females. The majority of these responses involved some kind of handicap. Handicap was defined broadly, as suggested by other writers.¹⁰ Included was any physical or mental aspect which the individual perceived as an obstacle or handi-

cap. This category encompassed size, weight, hearing, sight, injury, disease, and deformities.

While some of these handicaps were apparent to the writer, others would have passed unknown. Moreover, handicaps such as birthmarks and size seem to have exerted disproportionate influence. However, the majority of the handicaps were reported as resulting in favorable effects upon personality. This mirrored two aspects of the American cultural pattern. In the first place, males are not expected to complain of handicaps. Secondly, it was reported that, in overcoming the handicap, the individual had gained in self-confidence, social understanding, or in skills and attitudes which facilitated adjustment. It was interesting to note that handicap was one unfavorable area reported.

Females more often reported influence from primary group relationships than did males, but males more often reported influence from activities. This seemed to reflect the fact that, in American culture, adolescent girls spend more time in primary groups, whereas boys favor activities. Moreover, since males are expected to emancipate themselves from family ties, it may be that primary group influences are mitigated by competing influences, or that males do not wish to admit these influences.

Moreover, the social position of a boy is based more upon his ability and his activities, while the social position of a girl is judged more in terms of social skills and family. The result is that men are judged by achievement in business, and women by achievement in home and social skills.¹¹

¹⁰ Cf. Roger G. Barker and Herbert F. Wright, *One Boy's Day* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951); William L. Patty and Louise S. Johnson, *Personality and Adjustment* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953).

¹¹ Cultural differences—sociological, psychological, and educational—have been pointed out in the following articles by the writer: "Occupational Choice Patterns of Negro College Women," *Journal of Negro Education*, XXVI (1957), pp. 87-91; "Musée

[footnote continued on next page]

CONCLUSION

Practical implications were inherent in the finding that a high degree of influence was attributed to church and school. It has been agreed that family influence has waned as other institutions have assumed responsibility for

the development of certain aspects of personality. Since church and school have been reported as important influences, their ability to influence the behavior of this specific population might be exploited.

Although the present study was limited to a specific population and limited in its coverage of the factors in personality formation, it is hoped that others will be encouraged to carry out similar studies, so as to permit cross-cultural comparisons. Such research would augment personality theory and spotlight areas where exertion of influence might prove profitable.

Pédagogique—France's Educational Service," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XXXIV (1956), pp. 171-174; "Recent Developments in Swedish Education," *School and Society*, LXXXIII (1956), pp. 149-151; "Vocational Guidance in Belgium," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXV (1957), pp. 456-459; and "I.N.E.T.O.P.—Vocational Guidance in France," *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (1957), in press.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN SMALL COMMUNITIES IN MISSOURI

by C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory†

ABSTRACT

To what extent is occupational choice influenced by paternal occupation? At what occupational levels does a shift in occupation of sons and daughters most commonly occur? In terms of an occupational hierarchy, in what direction does occupational shift most often occur? These are the questions on which this study attempts to shed some light. The material for the study included information concerning the occupations of the fathers of a sample of Missouri youth who completed their high-school education in 116 small communities in 1939-1940, and the youths' own occupations ten to twelve years later.

The most significant shift was away from farming and agricultural pursuits toward the professions, clerical work, and business pursuits. A distinct tendency for subjects to gravitate toward the same occupational level as that of their fathers appeared. This tendency was most marked among the children of professional and white-collar workers and less so among children of manual workers. Nearly all persons occupied in farming were sons of farmers. Women showed a distinct tendency to marry into occupations at the same level as that of their fathers. Upward mobility, from lower status toward higher status occupations, was more marked than the reverse.

In an earlier paper the present authors explored the relationship between migration and intelligence test scores among a sample of Missouri youth who attended high school in small town schools in 1939 and 1940, and whose occupation and whereabouts in 1952 were known.¹ This study showed that those who had left their home communities performed appreciably better on a standard test than had those who remained in the communities where they had attended school. It was suggested that this relationship between migration and intelligence was probably associated with the fact that persons who entered professional and other white-collar occupations made higher test scores on the average than did those who entered farming and manual labor, and that, since the former occupations more often necessitated migra-

tion than did the latter, migrants had superior intelligence as compared with residents.

In a second paper, this latter hypothesis was investigated.² The results indicated that occupational choice was definitely selective of intelligence in the sense that subjects who entered the professions, clerical work, military service, and other nonmanual work showed a higher test score than did manual workers.³ The relationship between occupation and intelligence also appeared when the subjects were classified in terms of their fathers' occupations, although the differences were not so great.

This paper deals with another facet of the problem—namely, the relationship between the subject's own occu-

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¹ C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Migration Among Missouri High School Graduates," *American Sociological Review*, XIX:3 (June, 1954), pp. 314-324.

² Pihlblad and Gregory, "Occupational Selection and Intelligence in Rural Communities and Small Towns in Missouri," *American Sociological Review*, XXI:1 (Feb., 1956), pp. 63-71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64. See also Pihlblad and Gregory, "Changing Patterns in Occupational Choice," *The Journal of Teacher Education*, 6 (Dec., 1955), pp. 285-292.

pation ten years after leaving high school and his occupational background as indicated by his father's occupation. To what extent is the subject's own occupation related to that of his parents? To what extent does occupational inheritance play a role in occupational choice, and to what extent does shifting occur? In what direction is the shifting taking place? These and other related problems will be the subject for discussion.

DATA AND ANALYSIS PLAN

The data for this analysis consist of (1) the occupations followed by the fathers of the subjects while their sons and daughters attended school, and (2) the kind of work in which the subject was engaged in 1950-52, ten to twelve years after the subject left school.⁴ The communities numbered 116, and the towns included were mostly small, with populations of less than 2,500. The subjects resided both in the towns and on farms in the surrounding territory. The total number of cases included in the original sample was 5,011. Data relative to both subject's own occupation and father's occupation were available for only 1,504 males and 1,495 females.⁵ The occupational classification adopted included the following categories: (1) professions other than teaching (in this paper labeled "professions"), (2) teaching, (3)

clerical, (4) business and sales (referred to in the tables as "sales"), (5) skilled labor, (6) unskilled (including semiskilled) labor, (7) personal service, (8) farmers, (9) military (including all persons in the armed services), and (10) students. A more complete description of the characteristics of the sample will be found in an earlier paper.⁶

The interrelationships between the occupations of the subjects and those of their parents will be examined from three points of view. First, the extent of occupational shifting between the generations will be indicated by comparing the occupational composition of the parent and subject generations. Second, attention will be directed to the extent to which sons and daughters have followed the occupation of their fathers. Third, the direction of occupational shifting, or the occupations entered by sons from various occupational backgrounds will be the subject of analysis.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

In Table 1 is shown the occupational distribution for 1,504 male and 421 female subjects classified by their own occupation in 1950-52 and their fathers' occupations at the time the subject attended school. The relatively small number of females is explained by the fact that three-fourths of all the young women in the group were married and classified as housewives in 1950, and therefore excluded as occupationally unclassifiable.⁷

The principal impression one gets from study of the table is that of a shift away from agriculture toward business and the professions as well as

⁴Data were obtained from local informants in each of the communities included in the study.

⁵The question has been raised as to whether this considerable loss of cases for whom occupational data were incomplete might not have biased the results. A comparison of the test norms for the unreported and reported groups, however, indicates that the losses seem to have been random and that the two groups probably do not differ greatly. For a more complete discussion of this point, see Pihlblad and Gregory, "Occupational Selection and Intelligence in Rural Communities and Small Towns in Missouri," *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁶*Idem*, "Selective Aspects of Migration . . .," *op. cit.*

⁷The relationship between occupations of sons and fathers is obviously more significant than that between daughters and fathers, since many occupations open to males are virtually closed to females.

TABLE 1. SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED BY OWN OCCUPATION AND BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION*

Occupation	Male subjects				Female subjects			
	Own occupation		Father's occupation		Own occupation		Father's occupation	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Professions.....	133	8.8	51	3.4	45	10.7	11	2.6
Teaching.....	71	4.7	14	0.9	70	16.6	3	0.7
Clerical.....	49	3.3	20	1.3	159	37.8		
Sales.....	272	18.1	189	12.6	50	11.9	62	14.7
Skilled.....	184	12.2	120	8.0	11	2.6	26	6.2
Unskilled.....	257	17.1	191	12.7	45	10.6	51	12.1
Personal service.....	10	0.7	16	1.1	32	7.6	4	1.0
Farmers.....	383	25.5	903	60.0	2	0.5	264	62.7
Military.....	110	7.3			5	1.2		
Students.....	35	2.3			2	0.5		
All.....	1,504	100.0	1,504	100.0	421	100.0	421	100.0

*The percentage of fathers in the various occupational categories differs somewhat for sons and daughters since the same fathers are not always included in the two series. There is some overlapping, because brothers and sisters will have the same fathers.

toward manual occupations. Three-fifths of the fathers were engaged in farming, while only one-fourth of the sons were farmers. A considerably larger proportion of the sons than of the fathers were in business and sales—18 per cent as against 13 per cent.

Nearly a tenth of the sons as compared with less than four per cent of the fathers were in professions (other than teaching). While 71 sons were teachers, only 14 sons had fathers who were teachers. An occupation in which no fathers were classified but which had attracted a significant proportion of the sons was the armed services. Here we find 110 sons (7.3 per cent). This group is made up of persons who have voluntarily enlisted or reenlisted after the war. They could hardly be draftees; the average age of the subjects must have been between 28 and 30, since they graduated from high school in 1939 and 1940 at an average age of 18. The military group is interesting also because, as was shown in one of the authors' earlier papers, it tends to be a relatively superior group, with a high mean test score.

Occupational mobility among the women in the group is, of course, more difficult to interpret than that of the

men, since many occupations are largely closed to women. The exclusion of three-fourths of the females, who were housewives, from the occupational classification also makes comparison difficult. Nevertheless, the same shift away from agriculture toward white-collar occupations may be observed. Nearly two out of five of the subjects were in clerical work, while none of the fathers of daughters were clerical workers. One out of six was in teaching, while only three of the fathers had been teachers.⁸ About four times as large a proportion of daughters as fathers were in professional occupations. The proportion of daughters in sales activity (12 per cent), however, was less than the 15 per cent of the fathers who were in

⁸ It may be interesting to compare these results with those of an earlier investigation conducted in 1940 along somewhat the same lines. (Cf. Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and C. L. Gregory, "Scholastic Achievement and Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, VII:6 [Dec., 1942], pp. 752-763.) In 1940, ten years after leaving high school, one-third of all female subjects were in teaching and 18 per cent in clerical work. (See also, Pihlblad and Gregory, "Changing Patterns in Occupational Choice," *op. cit.*)

TABLE 2. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN SAME OCCUPATION AS THEIR FATHERS, BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupation of father	Sons in same occupation		Occupation of father	Daughters in same occupation	
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Professions.... (N = 51)	24	47.0	Professions.... (N = 11)	4	36.3
Teaching..... (N = 14)	3	21.4	Teaching..... (N = 3)	1	33.3
Clerical..... (N = 20)	0	0.0	Clerical..... (N = 0)		
Sales..... (N = 189)	88	46.5	Sales..... (N = 62)	5	8.0
Skilled..... (N = 120)	42	35.0	Skilled..... (N = 26)	2	7.7
Unskilled..... (N = 191)	59	30.8	Unskilled..... (N = 51)	7	13.7
Personal service (N = 16)	1	6.2	Personal service (N = 4)	0	0.0
Farmers..... (N = 903)	361	40.0	Farmers..... (N = 264)	2	0.6
Military..... (N = 0)			Military..... (N = 0)		
Students..... (N = 0)			Students..... (N = 0)		
All..... (N = 1,504)	578	38.4	All..... (N = 421)	21	4.9

sales or business. Skilled and unskilled work also held relatively less attraction for the daughters; these groups contained a lower proportion of the subjects than they did of the fathers.

The shift away from farming is part of the general movement of young people out of agriculture and reflects the inability of farming to absorb into the labor force on the farms the young people who are born and grow up in the country. Estimates of the capacity of Missouri farms to absorb the young people who are born and reared on farms have been made by Lively and Bright.⁹ These writers have shown that only about half (48.4 per cent) of the rural-farm male population attaining age 20 between 1930 and 1940 were needed to replace those who died or retired during this same period.

OCCUPATIONAL INHERITANCE

Let us turn next to the influence of the parent's occupation on the subject's own occupational choice. Table 2 shows the proportion of subjects in the same occupation as their fathers, for each occupational category of fathers. The

two categories in which occupational inheritance among sons seems to have been strongest were business or sales and professional work other than teaching, with nearly half the subjects in each coming from families in which the fathers were similarly occupied. In considerable contrast is the teaching profession, in which only one son out of five had come from a family in which the father was a teacher.¹⁰ In general, the table shows that the occupation of fathers exercises considerable influence on the subject's own choice of occupation. For example, about 9 per cent of the subjects were in the professions (Table 1), but of those who were sons of professional men, half were in the professions. A fifth of all the subjects were in business, but half of those in business were sons of businessmen. This same tendency—for sons to follow the occupation of their fathers—appears in every

¹⁰ The relatively unfavorable position of the teaching profession is quite different from that which was found in the study completed in 1943. This earlier study showed that 10 per cent of the males had entered teaching, as compared with less than 5 per cent in the present study. Of those who had entered teaching in the earlier study, about 40 per cent had teacher fathers. (See Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 77.)

⁹ C. E. Lively and Margaret Bright, *The Rural Population Resources of Missouri*, Missouri AES Research Bull. 428 (Columbia, 1948), pp. 33-37.

occupational group except the clerical, military, and student categories, in which no fathers were engaged.

Among the gainfully employed women, the tendency to follow in the father's occupation is not very clear, for obvious reasons. Of the 421 cases, only 21 (less than five per cent) were in the same occupational levels as their fathers. More than half of the women were in clerical occupations and in teaching, occupations in which there were few fathers.

Table 3 brings out the relationship between parent's occupation and subject's own occupation in a different way. Here the distribution of each occupational category of the sons according to the occupation of their fathers is shown. If occupational choice were uninfluenced by occupational background, one would expect the distribution in each column to be approximately the same, and the same as the occupational distribution of all fathers. That this is not the case is obvious. For example, 3.4 per cent of the fathers of all male subjects were professional men, but 18 per cent of the subjects in the professions were sons of professional men. While less than one per cent of the fathers were teachers, over four per cent of the teachers had fathers in the same profession. As indicated by the italicized percentages, in every occupational category except the clerical the sons have been recruited disproportionately from the same occupational level as that in which their fathers were employed. Most striking are the farmers, 94 per cent of whom had fathers who were farmers.

A comparison of the occupations of daughters with those of their fathers is less conclusive. Tabular presentation of the data will be omitted, since the number of cases in many of the classifications is too small to warrant generalizations, and the obstacles in the in-

heritance of occupations from fathers to daughters are much greater than in the case of sons. In the professions, in teaching, and in skilled work it appears that daughters have found their occupations at the same levels as their fathers, with frequencies somewhat greater than would be expected if there were no influence from the father's occupation.

MARITAL SELECTION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Another aspect of occupational background is its role in marital selection. The question can be raised: Is there any tendency for women to marry into occupations similar to those followed by their parents? In some cases, it may be that the choice of a husband by a young woman is influenced by the occupation he has chosen or proposes to follow. In other cases, the occupational choice of the husband may be influenced by his wife's wishes or he may marry into an occupation with a job provided by his wife's father.

Out of a total of 1,725 housewives, data pertaining to occupations of both fathers and husbands were available for 1,074 cases. Table 4 seems to show that there is a relationship between the occupations of the fathers of these 1,074 housewives and the occupational levels into which they have married. While 3 per cent of the fathers were in professions, 7 per cent of the housewives who married professional men had professional fathers. Almost as large proportions of the wives of teachers and clerical workers were also daughters of professional fathers, in each case twice as many as one would expect on the basis of chance. On the other hand, the daughters of professional fathers married manual workers and farmers considerably less frequently than would have occurred by chance alone.

The wives of farmers tended to be drawn largely from farm homes. While

60 per cent of all the women came from farm homes, about 80 per cent of all farmers' wives were daughters of farmers. Farm-raised girls also married husbands who were manual laborers and clerical workers in about the expected ratios. Girls from farm homes, however, were less likely to marry husbands in professional careers, in teaching, or in business and sales. Further study of Table 4, with attention directed to the italicized percentages, will lend support to the hypothesis that there is a tendency for women to marry husbands in the same occupational level as that in which they were reared.

DIRECTION OF OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTING

The direction of occupational shifting is shown in Tables 5 and 6. To simplify the comparisons, and to obtain larger numbers and increase the reliability, the occupational classes have been combined into five groups: (1) professionals, teachers, and students; (2) persons in sales, business, and clerical occupations; (3) manual workers, including both skilled and unskilled; (4) farmers; (5) military personnel. The classification can be criticized on the grounds that the categories are too broad to be meaningful, and that widely diverse occupations are lumped together. Nevertheless, there may be some logic in having a professional group, a business group, a manual worker-blue-collar group, a farm group, and a military group.

Table 5 shows the percentage of male subjects with fathers in a given occupational group who entered each of the five occupational categories. To show the probability of a person with a particular occupational background entering that or any other occupation, ratios are given in Table 6. The ratios are obtained by dividing the percentage of subjects with fathers in a given

occupational class who themselves have entered the same class by the percentage of all subjects who have entered that class. For example, 65 subjects had fathers in the professional-teacher-student group. Of these, 38 (58.4 per cent) became professionals. But 15.9 per cent of all subjects had become professionals. Dividing 58.4 per cent by 15.9 per cent gives a ratio of 3.7. Thus, it may be said that sons of professional workers were about four times as likely to become professionals as were male subjects as a whole.

Note first the occupations selected by the 65 sons of professionals and teachers. Nearly 60 per cent were themselves professional people, teachers, or students. Not quite a fourth were in business or clerical work. The minority were manual workers and farmers. About a tenth were in the armed forces. Four out of five subjects from professional homes remained in a white-collar occupation. Thus, there was relatively little "downward" mobility, if movement from a white-collar to a manual occupation could be described as "downward." As measured by the italicized percentages and ratios in Tables 5 and 6, occupational inheritance seems to have been strongest in the professional-teacher group.

The patterns of shifting are a little different in the business and clerical group. About a fifth of the subjects had moved "upward" into the professions, one-half remained in business and clerical lines, and a third had shifted into manual labor, the military, or agriculture. The tendency to remain in the paternal occupation (ratio = 2.2) is evident but not so marked as in the professions. "Downward" shifts (movement into manual labor and agriculture) were more marked in the business and clerical than in the professional group.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE SUBJECTS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND OWN OCCUPATION (BROAD OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS)

Son's occupation	Father's occupation				
	Professionals, teachers, and students (N = 65)	Business, sales, and clerical (N = 209)	Manual labor (N = 327)	Farmers (N = 906)	All (N = 1,504)
Professionals, teachers, and students..... (N = 239)	58.5	20.6	16.5	11.5	15.9
Business, sales, and clerical..... (N = 321)	23.1	46.9	24.4	14.1	21.3
Manual labor..... (N = 451)	7.7	21.1	44.7	28.4	30.0
Farmers..... (N = 383)	1.5	3.3	4.3	40.0	25.5
Military..... (N = 110)	9.2	8.1	10.1	6.0	7.3
All..... (N = 1,504)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 6. RATIOS SHOWING RELATIVE LIKELIHOOD THAT MALE SUBJECTS HAVING FATHERS IN A GIVEN OCCUPATION ENTERED THAT SAME OCCUPATION (BROAD OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS)

Son's occupation	Father's occupation				
	Professionals, teachers, and students	Business, sales, and clerical	Manual labor	Farmers	All
Professionals, teachers, and students..	3.7	1.3	1.0	0.7	1.0
Business, sales, and clerical.....	1.1	2.2	1.1	0.7	1.0
Manual labor.....	0.2	0.7	1.5	0.9	1.0
Farmers.....	0.0	0.1	0.2	1.6	1.0
Military.....	1.3	1.1	1.4	0.8	1.0

In the manual labor group, 45 per cent of the sons had remained in manual labor, 40 per cent had entered white-collar occupations, and small proportions had entered other occupational levels. The proportion that had become farmers, though small, was somewhat larger than in the other groups. It is interesting to note that about a sixth of the manual labor group had entered the professional-teaching-student level. This was nearly as large a proportion as found in the business-clerical category. The manual labor group's tendency to remain in the father's occupational level is not quite so strong as in the business group, which suggests that occupational mobility tends to increase as one descends the occupational scale. The

upward trends seem more marked than those in the opposite direction.

Changes within the farmer group are probably the most significant, since three-fifths of all the subjects came from a farm background. While one-fourth of all subjects were farmers, two-fifths of farmers' sons were farmers. The proportion of sons remaining in the father's occupational level is smaller than in any other occupational group, although the ratio (1.6) is a little larger than the ratio (1.5) in the manual labor group. Farmers' sons are to be found at all occupational levels, although in somewhat smaller proportions in the white-collar groups than are the sons of manual workers. Aside from those who remained in farming, the largest proportion were

those in manual work. One-fourth of all farmers' sons had become white-collar workers, a smaller percentage than in any of the other three groups. In making these generalizations about the farm group, it must be kept in mind that this particular farm group is a very heterogeneous one, including farm owners, tenants, and laborers of all kinds and classes. There is room for a great deal of mobility within the farm group. Certainly change from tenant to owner status may mean more by way of upward mobility than change from farm to manual labor outside agriculture, or even to clerical work. The shift from farming to other occupations tells us very little about the vertical mobility involved in the change, measured either in terms of income or social status.

A final point of interest concerns the occupational levels from which the military group is recruited. The only one of the occupational levels which does not seem to contribute proportionately to the armed services seems to be the farm group. Only 6 per cent of the sons of farmers, as compared with about ten per cent from the other occupational levels, have entered the military. Of all male subjects, the son of a manual worker seems most likely to enter military service. However, the relatively small number in the military category makes these comparisons somewhat less reliable than the others.

Among women, the occupational trends and the relationship between occupational background and the subject's own occupation are less definite than among the men; to save space, tabular presentation of the data is omitted. There seems to be some tendency for women with a professional background to find jobs at the professional level. Daughters of business-class fathers also tend to remain in white-collar jobs, with about equal

frequency in the professional and business-class levels. Less frequently they move down into the level of skilled, unskilled, or personal service work. (Ratios are 1.0, 1.1, and 0.6 for professional, business, and manual work, respectively.)

More significant are the relationships between parental occupation and that of the husbands of the 1,076 housewives in the group. Girls with fathers in the professions showed a strong tendency to marry men at the same occupational level (ratio = 3.1). They were much less likely to marry manual workers and farmers (ratios = 0.6 and 0.6). Among daughters of businessmen, the tendency to marry husbands in the white-collar groups is not so strong as among daughters of professional fathers (ratios = 1.7 and 1.8), but much stronger than their tendency to marry manual workers and farmers (ratios = 0.8 and 0.4). Daughters of manual workers married men in the professions, business class, and manual occupations with about equal frequency, but were more unlikely to marry farmers than they were to marry husbands in other occupations. Wives of men in the armed services came a little more frequently from business-class and working-class homes than they did from either professional or farm homes.

One may note that the pattern of occupational choice which is implied in marital selection is not unlike that which prevailed in the relationship between the occupational background of the men and their own choice of occupation. A high degree of mobility between occupational levels exists, but there is still some tendency toward reinforcement of the existing occupational structure. Mobility between the manual work category and the two white-collar groups seems to be greater than between farming and white-collar occupations, although it

is doubtful that this may be interpreted as more "upward" mobility in the former than in the latter, in light of the heterogeneity of the farm group.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the present study agree rather closely with those of the study completed in 1943. Both studies justify the conclusions that the open-class system is still the predominant pattern when it comes to the selection of occupations.¹¹ While there is some tendency for persons in Missouri rural communities to follow the occupations in which their fathers were employed, there is yet a high degree of fluidity and upward mobility from the lower

status occupations. A compensating downward movement from the upper levels is much less pronounced. This suggests, of course, that birth and rearing in farming and manual labor homes do not interpose insuperable obstacles to the attainment of more prestigious occupational levels. One must keep in mind, however, that the data pertain only to high-school graduates and, therefore, probably represent a somewhat selected group. That nearly a fifth of the 1940 high-school graduates were still employed as unskilled workers ten years after graduation tempers somewhat the optimism toward which the present study might lead. Or perhaps it indicates that high-school education is now so universal that even most unskilled workers are likely to have enjoyed its advantages.

¹¹ Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory, *op. cit.*, chap. v.

VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND BEHAVIORAL CORRELATES OF MEMBERS IN PURCHASING COOPERATIVES*

by Emory J. Brown and Robert C. Bealer†

ABSTRACT

The objectives of the study reported in this paper were (1) to measure the value orientation of members toward their cooperative organization and (2) to identify the behavioral correlates of their differential value orientations.

Value orientations were measured in terms of the relative importance ascribed by members to eight variables. The method of paired comparisons was used to compute values for the eight items. In general, the data lend support to the hypothesis that (1) members value the cooperative organization primarily as an economic institution and minimize the ideological elements; but (2) differential value orientations are correlated with differential behavior, so that those members whose values are most in agreement with the public goals of the cooperative—namely, cooperative ideology and economic advantage—are more effective (as measured by organizational participation, satisfaction, and felt responsibilities) than those members who are oriented primarily to economic goals alone.

The contractual organizations which farmer purchasing-type cooperatives in the United States are today bear little resemblance to the familistic organizations of earlier years. Instead of involving all members in decision making, present cooperatives function primarily through a small board of directors, to whom the members have delegated responsibility and authority. A low feeling of personal involvement by members is often characteristic.¹

Cooperative organizations are structures in which members participate voluntarily. Active participation (pri-

marily in terms of patronage) is ideal membership role behavior, in terms of management's frame of reference. With the shift toward large, contractual-type organizations, the informal socialization of the familistic organizations has become less effective as a vehicle for role indoctrination. In order to instruct the member concerning his duties and concurrent rights,² formal programs of "membership relations" have been initiated.

This purposive action attempts to develop loyal members imbued with cooperative business philosophy. The major purpose of such programs is to create favorable attitudes and behavior toward the cooperatives on the part of one public, the members. If the member believes in cooperatives and feels the organization really belongs to him and his neighbors, it is assumed by cooperative leaders that the member will automatically participate in the desired manner.

*Journal paper No. 2089 of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station. Read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Aug. 29-31, 1955, College Park, Md. For details on methods and content reported in this paper, cf. Robert C. Bealer, "Value Orientations and Behavioral Correlates of Producer-Patrons in Purchasing Cooperatives" (unpublished Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1955).

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¹E.g., see W. A. Anderson and Dwight Sanderson, *Membership Relations in Cooperative Organizations*, Cornell University AES Mimeo. Bull. 9 (Ithaca, N. Y., Apr., 1943).

²The function of membership relations in opening up reciprocal channels of communication between management and members was not of immediate concern to the study.

THE PROBLEM

Many members do not participate actively, however.³ The practical problems to which the research reported here pertains are why farmers buy supplies through cooperatives and whether members who are effectively reached by membership relations programs are more active participants. The specific objectives are: (1) to measure the value orientations of members toward their cooperative organization and (2) to identify the behavioral correlates of differential value orientations. In other words, what images do members have of their cooperative, and what are the behavioral consequences of such images?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Value orientation refers to the meaning the member ascribes to the cooperative—the image or conceptual configuration of the organization, including the conception of his role. Beliefs and values are determined primarily by past experiences. A person derives his values from the groups in which he interacts or with which he identifies. Usually the family and peer group—both primary—and the occupational group are the major reference groups establishing the beliefs, attitudes, and values of individuals. For it is from these groups that most people derive daily and continuing satisfaction.

Membership in the cooperative organizations in this study becomes automatic by buying supplies at the place of business. Few opportunities are provided for developing an integrated social group with structured role definitions to which members must conform. Hence, the cooperative does not

serve as a primary reference group for members.

HYPOTHESIS AND METHOD

The major hypothesis of the study may be stated as follows: (1) *Members value the cooperative organization primarily as an economic institution and minimize the ideological elements; but (2) differential value orientations are correlated with differential behavior, so that those members whose values are most in agreement with the public goals of the cooperative—the ideological and the economic—will be more effective than those members who value only the economic goals.*

The data were collected in the summer of 1954, by personal interviews, with a formal schedule. The population studied consisted of the farmer members of two purchasing cooperative units⁴ located in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania.

The cooperatives' operations in the county were regarded by officers of the organizations as being typical of those in other areas. In type of farming and culture of the people, Lebanon County resembles other sections of southeastern Pennsylvania. However, generalizations other than for this county can be only speculative.

Only those farmer members who made purchases in 1953 and who resided within the geographical boundaries of the county were interviewed. A 20-per-cent random sample was used. Three hundred and twenty-two completed schedules were obtained and shown to be highly representative of all members in terms of total patronage at the cooperatives. Of the 322

³ Cf. M. J. Danner, *An Alabama Cooperative—As Farmers See and Use It*, Alabama Polytechnic Institute AES Bull. 279 (Auburn, Dec., 1950); J. K. Stern and H. F. Doran, *Farmers' Support of Cooperatives*, Pennsylvania AES Bull. 505 (State College, Nov., 1948).

⁴ Only two purchasing cooperatives are organized in this county: One is a federated type with 34 county units in Pennsylvania; the other is a centralized type with local warehouses and cardo agents in most of the northeastern states.

members,⁵ 68 per cent were "single members" (members of only one cooperative) and 32 per cent were "dual members" (belonged to both cooperatives). The dual members were asked questions about both organizations.

Since the most significant behavior of a member in the purchasing-type cooperative is in his role as patron, the study design provided for relating value orientation to those elements of the cooperative most important to the respondents as "patrons." Value orientation was measured operationally in terms of the relative importance ascribed to eight aspects of the cooperative. The method of paired comparisons was used.⁶

A hypothetical situation was posed wherein a neighbor of the respondent, having heard that the respondent was a patron of a purchasing-type cooperative, wanted to know what things about the cooperative were important or appealed to him. The respondent was asked to compare each of the following eight aspects with every other one. The list was derived from past research findings showing reasons for joining and benefits derived from the cooperative.⁷

⁵ In this report, all patrons are classified as members, although technically about 10 per cent were not members. These were partial shareholders in the federated cooperative and, in most cases, ultimately will become members. The interviewing showed that the majority of this group already considered themselves members.

⁶ See J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1936), pp. 217-243, for the assumptions and the details of this method.

⁷ See W. A. Anderson, *The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations*, Cornell University AES Bull. 695 (Ithaca, N. Y., 1938); M. E. John, *Factors Influencing Farmers' Attitudes Toward a Cooperative Marketing Organization*, Pennsylvania AES Bull. 457 (State College, 1943); G. M. Beal, D. R. Fessler, and R. E. Wakeley, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Iowa*, Iowa AES Res. Bull. 379 (Ames, 1951).

1. How good a buy I can get there.
2. Location of the agent or warehouse.
3. How wide a variety of goods are handled.
4. The basic coöper principles put to work there.
5. How the people who work for the coöper treat me.
6. Whether my friends and neighbors buy there.
7. The part ownership I have in the coöper.
8. What kinds of services are offered.

The respondent was instructed to choose from each pair the *one* statement that is "the more IMPORTANT, APPEALING, or VALUABLE thing to YOU as a patron of a farm purchasing coöper." Of the 322 respondents, 265 answered the paired comparisons, 41 were persuaded to complete a simple rank ordering of the eight variables, and 16 would do neither task.

VALUE ORIENTATIONS

The relative scale values resulting from the paired comparison computations are given in Table 1. For both the single members and the dual members, "how good a buy I can get there" was ranked first (had the highest scale value). The single members of the centralized cooperative valued "good buy" more highly than did the single members of the federated one. Probing of the meaning of "good buy" gave evidence that the respondents used similar frames of reference in their interpretations—e.g., a combination of price and quality.

"What kinds of services are offered" was the next most important for all groups except for single members of the centralized cooperative, who ranked "location of agent or warehouse" as second.⁸ Next in descending order of importance were: "how the people who work there treat me;" "location of agent or warehouse" (with

⁸ This latter situation was perhaps a function of the greater number of service outlets provided by that cooperative.

TABLE 1. SCALE VALUES OF EIGHT VALUE-ORIENTATION VARIABLES, FOR SELECTED GROUPINGS OF FARMERS' PURCHASING COOPERATIVE MEMBERS, LEBANON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1954

Variable	Type of member grouping			
	Single member— federated type (N = 105)	Single member— centralized type (N = 66)	Dual patrons (N = 94)	Entire sample (N = 265)
Good buy.....	1.11	1.23	1.23	1.18
Services.....	.91	.77	1.07	.93
People treat me.....	.79	.71	.87	.80
Location.....	.62	.78	.81	.73
Variety.....	.60	.55	.62	.59
Coöp principles.....	.35	.31	.51	.40
Part ownership.....	.37	.23	.30	.31
Friends.....	.00	.00	.00	.00

the exception of the case previously mentioned); "variety of goods handled;" "the basic coöp principles put to work there;" "the part ownership I have;" and, at the bottom, "whether my friends and neighbors buy there." The 41 who gave only rank order ranked "friends and neighbors" above "coöp principles" and "part ownership." Otherwise their ranking agreed with the aggregate ranking of the 265 paired comparison respondents.

The members who belonged only to the federated cooperative valued "services" and "feeling of ownership" more than those who belonged only to the other cooperative. This finding is in the direction expected if the difference in organization of the two cooperatives is an important variable. The remaining variables were given about equal importance in both cooperatives.

The paired comparison coefficient of consistency (d)⁹ calculated for each of the 265 respondents¹⁰ showed slightly more than eighty per cent consistent (reliable) in their selections. The coefficient of agreement (u)¹¹ among the

265 respondents showed agreement on both the absolute and relative placement of the variables at a probability level surpassing .001. Thus, the respondents were consistent, not only as individuals but also among themselves, as to what things were most important.

If we can assume that the variables pertaining to "cooperative principles" and "part ownership" are elements of an ideological orientation to the cooperative, one may conclude that the perceptual field of these members did not include, to any appreciable degree, those factors which differentiate the cooperative from noncooperative businesses. The "good-buy" concept was relatively four times as important as the ideological beliefs for these respondents. Comparatively, "ideology" was insignificant and marginal to the members' patronage. This conclusion is further substantiated by the fact that "whether my friends and neighbors buy there" was ranked at the bottom. The typical response was, "It doesn't matter at all to me where my neighbor buys." Yet the theory of the cooperative holds that the cooperative organization is only an extension of the individual farm firms of the members, so that the welfare of all is dependent upon the success of the pooled venture.

The pervasive economic value orientation in terms of a good buy, location,

⁹ M. G. Kendall, *The Advanced Theory of Statistics* (London: Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1936), Vol. II.

¹⁰ It was impossible to check reliability of the simple rank order respondents.

¹¹ E. G. Chambers, *Statistical Calculations for Beginners* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

and services, and the low ranking of ideology sustain the first part of the hypothesis. The finding might be explained by several factors: (1) Many farmers are not financially secure to the extent that priority is given readily to abstract belief in cooperatives over an apparently more pragmatic concern with palpable economic goals. (2) This is reinforced by the culture of our society which encourages free enterprise and individual initiative as symbolic values somewhat antithetical to the group ideology of a cooperative organization. (3) In action, easily perceptible economic goals are stressed by cooperatives while programs to educate the members to cooperative ideology and responsibilities have been minimized. For instance, while thousands of dollars may be spent on obtaining new varieties of corn, a modicum of financial resources is allocated for social science research on effective educational techniques.

VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPINGS

As the most efficient way of testing the hypothesis that differences in value orientations are associated with differences in participation and attitudes toward the cooperative, the isolation of groupings of individuals with relatively homogeneous value orientations was required. Suitable groupings were arrived at for the 306 respondents from whom value-orientation data were obtained. The groupings were defined by the different combinations of the variables ranked first and second by the respondents. Logical "togetherness" and empirical judgments based on scale values were the bases used in setting up the categories. The six operational groupings that resulted are listed and characterized below:

1. *Ideological grouping.*—The value choices of these persons represent an approximation of what may be considered the ideal type orientation as pro-

moted in membership relations programs, viz., an economic-ideological perspective. Their highest ranked values were "coöp principles" and "part ownership," and, to a lesser extent, "good buy."

2. *Treatment-nonsocial grouping.*—These members were not primarily oriented in terms of the economic or the ideological variables. Their dominant values included "people treat me," "services," "location," and "variety."

3. *Economic-treatment grouping.*—This grouping represents the dominant value orientation of the sample, in that nearly a third of the respondents are in this category. These members were most concerned with "good buy" and "services" or "people treat me."

4. *Economic-nonsocial grouping.*—This grouping was oriented to the cooperative predominantly in terms of "good buy" and "variety" or "location."

5. *Friends grouping.*—This grouping consisted of persons for whom "whether my friends and neighbors buy there" was a dominant consideration.

6. *Universal grouping.*—These were all members who were inconsistent in their choices in the paired comparisons, and for whom no pattern of response was apparent.

COVERT BEHAVIOR AND VALUE ORIENTATION

The value-orientation groupings were compared on measures both of overt behavior and covert behavior. Covert behavior was defined in terms of satisfaction with the cooperative, conception of the member's role, and feeling of belongingness.

A score for over-all satisfaction with the cooperative was obtained. It was based on questions as to the degree of satisfaction with each of the eight cooperative aspects represented in the value orientation variables. The con-

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP OF OVER-ALL SATISFACTION SCORES AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Over-all satisfaction score	Value orientation grouping						All (N = 306)
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 51)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	
	Per cent						
0-7.....	5.6	19.0	15.7	26.8	23.6	44.0	22.2
8-34.....	63.8	64.3	60.8	51.6	32.7	44.0	54.3
35-36.....	30.6	16.7	23.5	21.6	43.7	12.0	23.5
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 20.57; p < .05; d.f. = 10; \bar{U} = .27.$$

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP OF MEMBERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY SCORES AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Responsibility score	Value orientation grouping						All (N = 306)
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 51)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 24)	
	Per cent						
0-6.....	8.3	11.9	5.9	21.6	18.2	33.3	16.4
7-12.....	44.5	52.4	37.3	46.4	47.3	41.7	45.2
13-18.....	47.2	35.7	56.8	32.0	34.5	25.0	38.4
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 20.5; p < .05; d.f. = 10; \bar{U} = .30.$$

tribution of each question to the score was determined by weights based on the value scale positions of the variables. The satisfaction scores were made comparable as between the six groupings.

The six value orientation groupings differed significantly on satisfaction with the cooperative (Table 2). Persons in the "universal" grouping were most satisfied, while those in the "friends" grouping were least satisfied. Members with an ideological orientation were slightly better satisfied than the average and significantly more so than the "economic" groupings.

A responsibility score was derived, based on the respondent's opinions of how important each of six different overt actions were for a member in a purchasing cooperative to perform. The behaviors included in this "ideal"

role conception were: attendance at meetings, keeping informed, buying all needed supplies from the coöp, helping to finance the coöp, talking about and trying to get new members for the coöp, and serving in official capacities if called on. The six questions were assigned equal weights and combined into a total responsibility score. The maximum score obtainable was 18.

The ideologically oriented members had higher responsibility scores than the other members (Table 3). The "friends" grouping felt least responsible to the cooperative. The "universal" grouping had next to the highest responsibility scores. The "economic" groupings were intermediate in their scores.

After the respondent's image of a member's responsibility was obtained, he was asked a follow-up question con-

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP OF FEELING OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Personally felt responsibility	Value orientation grouping						
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 51)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	All (N = 306)
	<i>Per cent</i>						
Yes.....	41.7	20.2	57.8	24.2	18.1	28.0	30.6
No.....	58.3	79.8	42.2	75.8	81.9	72.0	69.4
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 28.01$; $p < .001$; $d.f. = 5$; $\bar{C} = .38$.

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP OF OWNERSHIP ROLE CONCEPTIONS AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Member's definition of ownership	Value orientation grouping						
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 50)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	All (N = 306)
	<i>Per cent</i>						
Ownership excludes ego....	20.8	20.2	19.0	27.8	26.4	42.0	25.4
Ownership may include ego.....	47.2	44.1	32.0	34.0	30.0	16.0	34.4
Ownership probably includes ego	32.0	35.7	49.0	38.2	43.6	42.0	40.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 12.11$; $p < .30$; $d.f. = 10$.

cerning whether he *personally* felt a responsibility toward the purchasing cooperative. Only about 30 per cent of the members said they felt some degree of personal responsibility, but almost six-tenths of the ideologically oriented members did (Table 4).

As an indirect method of measuring the feelings of ownership, the members were asked who, in their opinion, owned the cooperative they were patronizing. Answers were categorized on the basis of judgments as to the degree to which the respondent's definition of ownership included ego. There were no significant differences between the value orientation groupings as to who the members felt owned the cooperative. However, the ideologically oriented members were more often in the category expected—namely, that

of indicating some ego involvement in ownership (Table 5).

To measure the perceived power relationships, members were asked how much influence they had in the organization (Table 6). The ideologically oriented members felt that they exerted more influence in the affairs of the cooperative than the persons in the other groupings felt they exerted. While about a fifth of the members in the "ideological" grouping said they had no say, slightly more than half of those in the "friends" grouping felt that way. In response to a question about whether they would like to have more say, the groupings did not differ much. In fact, only 7 per cent of the entire sample expressed any desire for more say.

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIP OF HOW MUCH "SAY" THE INDIVIDUAL FEELS HE HAS IN THE COOPERATIVE, AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

How much say the individual feels he has	Value orientation grouping						
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 50)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	All (N = 305)
	<i>Per cent</i>						
Some.....	27.8	21.4	42.0	17.0	16.4	18.0	23.0
Not much.....	45.8	52.4	36.0	53.2	57.2	30.0	48.1
None.....	26.4	26.2	22.0	29.8	26.4	52.0	28.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 21.8$; $p < .02$; $d.f. = 10$; $\bar{U} = .31$.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF INTRACOOPERATIVE PARTICIPATION SCORES AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Intra-cooperative participation score	Value orientation grouping						
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 51)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	All (N = 306)
	<i>Per cent</i>						
0-3.....	9.7	39.2	27.4	37.2	27.3	32.0	30.2
4-6.....	56.9	44.1	45.2	43.8	60.0	60.0	49.9
7-15.....	33.4	16.7	27.4	19.0	12.7	8.0	19.9
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 19.4$; $p < .05$; $d.f. = 10$; $\bar{U} = .30$.

OVERT BEHAVIOR AND VALUE ORIENTATION

As a composite index of overt participation in the purchasing cooperatives, a crude participation score was devised. Five areas of behavior, approximately the same as the areas in the responsibility score, were included: patronage at the cooperative, attendance at meetings, how often the patron talked with friends and neighbors about the cooperative, how often he tried to get new members, and how often he shopped around before buying at the cooperative. Each question was assigned equal weight, and the maximum possible score was 15.

The members in the "universal" grouping had the highest participation scores, followed by those in the "ideological" grouping (Table 7). The "friends" grouping had the lowest scores. Although the "ideological"

grouping did not differ significantly from the "economic" grouping, the former had higher scores than the latter. When each of the five items which comprise the total participation score was related separately to the six orientation groupings, no significant differences were found except for the behavior of trying to get new members. About two-thirds of the ideologically oriented members tried to get new members while only about a third of the other members did. In the other four overt behaviors, however, there was a consistent tendency for the ideologically oriented members to be higher participants in the cooperative than other members.

An intercooperative participation score was developed to measure the respondents' participation in all cooperative organizations. When these

TABLE 8. RELATIONSHIP OF INTERCOOPERATIVE PARTICIPATION SCORES AND VALUE ORIENTATION GROUPING

Inter-cooperative participation	Value orientation grouping						
	Universal (N = 36)	Treatment-nonsocial (N = 42)	Ideological (N = 51)	Economic-treatment (N = 97)	Economic-nonsocial (N = 55)	Friends (N = 25)	All (N = 306)
	<i>Per cent</i>						
0-3.....	22.2	28.6	23.5	30.9	43.6	56.0	32.7
4-7.....	61.1	54.7	49.0	52.6	36.4	36.0	49.0
8 and over.....	16.7	16.7	27.5	16.5	20.0	8.0	18.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 17.3$; $p < .1$; $d.f. = 10$.

scores were related to the six orientation groupings, no significant differences were found (Table 8). However, the differences approached the level of significance. The "ideological" grouping showed the highest participation scores in cooperative organizations and the "friends" grouping the lowest. Slightly over one-fourth of the former and one-twelfth of the latter had participation scores in the highest category.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Members attach different meanings to their cooperative organizations. While the members are predominantly oriented to their cooperative as an economic institution, other orientations exist. The differences in the overt participation patterns of members are less than the differences in what the cooperative symbolizes to the various members. Because of its economic nature, the cooperative can appeal to people with different value orientations. However, evidence from this study tends to support the conclusion that those members who have an image of their cooperative in terms of basic cooperative principles are the most effective.

The farmers who believe in the coop-

erative ideology are generally of a high socio-economic status.¹² The traditional membership relations programs have been most successful with that type of farmer. If cooperative leaders want all members to participate actively, programs and techniques need to be developed to appeal to those farmers who perceive the organization in terms of social relationships—such as their treatment by employees and other members, or the involvement of their own congeniality groups in the organization. No doubt the value orientations of members can be changed over a period of time, while programs developed to fit the already existing values will likely have a better chance of being successful for short-term goals. Additional research is needed to measure the consequences of using rational techniques, intended to make abstract ideals meaningful to the mass of members.

¹² An unreported part of the study shows that members with an ideological orientation were the most educated, had the highest farm incomes, and had higher-than-average (for the sample) levels of living. The economic groupings included the most part-time farmers and middle-range farmers. The friends grouping was made up of the lowest stratum farmers.

RESEARCH NOTES

RURAL AND URBAN ADOLESCENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD MOVING*

by Raymond Payne†

This is a report on one phase of an exploratory study of adolescent development within the community setting. This paper concerns the attitudes of eighth- and twelfth-grade boys and girls toward the phenomenon of moving—i.e., whether they thought moving to be more or less desirable than living in one home all the time. Obtained in the study were subjects' statements of their preferences and the bases for them, and the analysis treats the patterns existing among the responses.

Americans tend to be highly mobile, and children and teen-agers frequently are involved in the movement of families from place to place. The 901 young persons in the present sample had moved, on the average, slightly more than three times each. Ninety-two informants had moved eight or more times, and 102 had not moved at all during their lives.

The purpose of the study was to obtain a generalized evaluative view of moving, as seen through the eyes of the young people themselves, and to obtain their own conceptions of reasons underlying their favorable or unfavorable appraisals. It was thought that the findings might contribute to better understanding of the growing-up process and help in further refinement of hypotheses bearing specifically upon the role of horizontal mobility as a damaging, enhancing, or neutral factor in personality development of contemporary American youth.

PROCEDURE

The subjects were the pupils in the eighth and twelfth grades in the public schools of Gainesville and Hall County, Georgia, in late 1953, the time of the survey. The data were obtained in the form of responses made on printed schedules by individual students in their classrooms. The questionnaires were filled in under the supervision of the teachers, and in all schools on the same days. The schedule included 19 questions bearing on mobility experience and attitudes toward moving.

*This is a revised and greatly condensed version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, University of Maryland, College Park, Md., Aug., 1955. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of George D. Lowe in this analysis.

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It is intended that generalizations from this study shall apply only to the present sample, since Hall County, when compared with the average of all Georgia counties, is larger (in both area and population), is more industrialized and urbanized, has a lower percentage of nonwhites in the population, and has a higher level-of-living index.¹

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In general, sociologists and social psychologists who have discussed the effects of moving upon the lives of adolescents have concluded that the effects are largely detrimental. Bossard, after a lengthy discussion of the problems and difficulties attending moving, makes this statement: "Obviously, the results of residential mobility are not all undesirable. [Paul] Landis has pointed out general aspects of the reverse side. The mobile child learns to be alert, adaptable, resourceful, democratic." But Bossard terminated his discussion with this quotation from a case study, "Mobility has its advantages, but I wouldn't wish them on anyone."²

Horrocks lists five specific objectionable aspects of moving, and only by indirection grants that desirable results may accrue, without specifying any such effects.³ LaPiere and Farnsworth give an almost middle-of-the-road appraisal of mobility's effects, but only by careful use of modifiers and qualifying statements.⁴ Wilson Gee states that mobility, particularly among high-grade farm-tenant groups, has the advantage of decreasing provincialism and broadening the personalities of those involved.⁵ Only Paul Landis presents a con-

¹ For additional description of the sample and methods, see Raymond Payne, "Development of Occupational and Migration Expectations and Choices among Urban, Small Town, and Rural Adolescents," *Rural Sociology*, XXI:2 (June, 1956), pp. 117-125.

² James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), pp. 415-421. Bossard's first quotation is from Paul Landis, "The Case for Mobility," *The Survey Midmonthly* (Mar., 1943), pp. 74-76; the second is from a case in the files of the William T. Carter Foundation.

³ John E. Horrocks, *The Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951), pp. 72-75.

⁴ Richard T. LaPiere and Paul R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology* (3rd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), pp. 323-327.

⁵ Wilson Gee, *The Social Economics of Agriculture* (3rd ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 179.

cise and logical set of socio-psychological advantages resulting from mobility.

FINDINGS

Of the 901 persons in the study, 59 per cent thought that moving was less desirable than living in one home all the time, 36 per cent thought it more desirable, and 5 per cent were ambivalent on the question. Inasmuch as each of the 44 persons in this latter group stated that there were both *pro* and *con* sides to the question, with neither outweighing the other, their responses are treated here as truly ambivalent rather than as "don't know" or "undecided" responses. Almost half (20 persons) of these 44 had never moved during their lives; no one who had moved more than five times was ambivalent in his responses. These two facts would seem to reflect favorably upon the validity of the study.

Reasons most frequently given for favorable attitudes were that moving provides desired types of adventure and new experience, that it allows for more desirable personality development, and that it provides opportunity for more extensive interpersonal contacts and attachments; the possibility of economic or other tangible improvements in the family's way of life was given as a reason much less often.

Objections were based most frequently upon the confusion and expense of the move itself, and upon the fact that moving disrupts interpersonal relationships. Lack of stability and the possibility of being placed in confusing situations formed the bases for others' objections to moving. Little concern was expressed for disruption of institutional attachments, other than that frequent moving interrupts school work or impairs the student's standing.

DIFFERENCES AMONG SUBGROUPS

Sex.—Girls were slightly more likely than boys to favor moving. Their own explanations indicated that girls were less concerned than boys about the disruption of interpersonal relationships resulting from moving. There are possibly two reasons for this: (1) the girl is, during the adolescent period, usually more mature socially, hence more confident of her ability to reestablish friendships in a new community; and (2) according to some pupils, the "new girl" in school (particularly high school) usually gets a "rush" from the boys, whereas nothing so exciting happens to the new boy.

Grade (Age).—Eighth-graders were much more likely than twelfth-graders to favor

moving. Apparently the difference lies in their greater thirst for adventure and new experiences, together with less fear of the new and different. Also, the younger subjects expressed no great concern over the possible disrupting effects upon nonfamily interpersonal relationships or institutional attachments (school, church, and organizations). The absence of these concerns is explainable in that younger subjects were probably more closely attached to and under the protection of their immediate families, and thus less dependent upon other human or institutional attachments.

Race.—Of the 40 Negro subjects, 21 thought moving more desirable. This represented 53 per cent of the Negro sample, while only 36 per cent of the white students stated this preference.

Mobility Groups.—High mobility subjects (those with a greater-than-average number of moves during their lives) were more likely than others to favor moving. While only a fourth of those who had never moved favored it, about half of those who had moved eight or more times favored moving. Although there were many exceptions, the high mobility pupils indicated by their statements that moving had come to be an expected and, consequently, accepted part of their lives. Further, those with extensive histories of moving indicated that, through the moves, they had been able to make gains which outweighed the losses.

Socio-Economic Levels and Place-of-Residence Groups.—As single variables, socio-economic level and rural-urban place of residence did not discriminate in relation to mobility and mobility attitudes. When the two factors were considered in combination, however, there were significant differences between groups.

Among rural pupils, those of low socio-economic status were highly mobile and most likely to favor moving. However, the most mobile urban pupils were those of high socio-economic level, and it was they who most favored moving. The most mobile rural group (predominantly from farm tenant and laborer families) and the most mobile urban group (chiefly from professional and managerial families), while representing opposite ends of the socio-economic scale, were similar in their sympathetic attitude toward moving. Again, the possible explanation is that these persons, having developed a way of life characterized by frequent change of residence, had come to consider it the right, best, or natural thing.

Thus, extent of past mobility emerged as the most discriminating single factor in the analysis, and was significantly related to the favorable attitude toward moving within (1) the total sample, (2) the male subsample, (3) the female subsample, (4) the rural subsample, and (5) the eighth-grade subsample.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The data suggest no reason to question the assumption that adolescents have evaluative attitudes toward horizontal mobility and are able to verbalize them. Further, it proved possible to classify the expressed attitudes as favorable, unfavorable, and ambivalent, and the subjects were able to articulate the bases of their attitudes in terms of values thought to be damaged or enhanced by moving. Favorable responses were more prevalent among girls than among boys, and more prevalent among eighth- than among twelfth-graders. In general, there were smaller variations in relation to socio-economic level and rural-urban place of residence than might have been expected, and more variation in relation to extent of past mobility.

The fact that those who were highest in mobility had the most favorable attitudes toward moving suggests that moving does not necessarily build up in the child an aversion toward moving, but that, in fact, a child may become accustomed to moving and accept it as to be desired over remaining in one place all the time. Thus, moving need not necessarily be a crisis in the life of an adolescent, and it may actually be an experience to be anticipated with pleasure. One suspects that this may be especially true if the parents are aware of those aspects of moving which might be considered advantages by the child, and if these are pointed out to him well in advance of the move. If, however, the parents rationalize the move solely upon adult values (economic gain, vertical social movement, and the like) then the child might be left confused and unhappy as he dwells upon only those things which have meaning for him—i.e., his adolescent values which might be damaged by the move.

Some of the answers suggest a danger that individuals may acquire the "moving habit." If carried over into adulthood, this might produce unnecessary horizontal mobility—that is, horizontal mobility without vertical movement or appreciable improvement in living conditions. Wise and sympathetic parental discussion with children concerning the reasons for the move might appreciably reduce the incidence of tension

and frustration resulting from mobility. If parents recognize the possible ill effects and forewarn and orient their children, some of the difficulties may be avoided. Conscious effort by school personnel, as well as by leaders or members of youth groups and organizations, to greet and otherwise recognize newly arrived students could aid in reducing the feeling of isolation and strangeness.

In general, it may be concluded that the effects of moving cannot be entirely damaging to adolescents psychologically, since such a large proportion of those studied regarded moving as more desirable than not, and since most of these same adolescents had had the experience of moving. No doubt others could be helped to perceive it in a favorable light, by making them aware of the possible advantages.

FORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION: METHOD AND THEORY*

by Thelma R. Black†

Participation in organized group activities is probably one of the most germane problems for research in sociology. Yet, as both Beers and Coleman have pointed out, there are no theoretically well-founded meanings and methods in this field of study, and certainly none that are standardized.¹

Development of this field of study is likely to be hastened if we follow the advice of Merton and others, that we keep a close relation between method and theory.² The present article describes a revised method of measuring social participation and explains how this method grew out of an unsuccessful attempt to use existing scales. Some beginnings of a more adequate theory of participation are suggested.

THE NEED FOR A REVISED SCALE

When a project in participation research was set up at Utah State University, the plan was to use the Chapin³ Scale as a measuring device, so that scores could be compared with participation scores from

*This paper grew out of research in the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station and is published by permission of the director.

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¹See Howard Beers, "Social Participation Studies," *Rural Sociology*, VIII:3 (Sept., 1943), pp. 294 f.; and A. Lee Coleman's discussion of D. G. Hay, "Social Participation of Individuals in Four Rural Communities of the Northeast," *Rural Sociology*, XVI:2 (June, 1951), pp. 135 f.

²Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949).

³F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, IV:2 (Apr., 1939), pp. 157-166.

other parts of the country. However, the Chapin Scale was later abandoned, for three principal reasons:

(1) Although the Chapin Scale is the best-known instrument of its kind, investigation showed that it has been used only slightly more than other techniques for measuring participation. Thus, the promise of standardization was not sufficient to encourage use of the Chapin Scale. A wide variety of indices of participation different from Chapin's have been used. For example, some studies have taken a single measure like membership or attendance. The same single measure, moreover, has not been used uniformly. The unit of attendance, for instance, is sometimes "attended" or "did not attend," sometimes number of meetings, and sometimes amount of time spent in meetings. And a very recent Chapin-like scale, devised by Buck and Ploch, drops financial contribution as a factor and adds past membership and officership to present organizational activity and affiliation. With this latter scale, a past officer of an organization, even though he may not have been attending recently, receives more points than a member who is currently attending but is not an officer.⁴

(2) The "contributions" item in the Chapin Scale was difficult to handle in the Utah study. In Chapin scoring, the items and their weights are as follows: membership, 1; attendance, 2; contributions, 3; membership on committees, 4; position as an officer, 5. An individual gets the indicated number of points for each organization in which he has had the specified form of participation during the past year, and his score is the sum of the points. The sum of the scores for the father and mother in a family is taken as the family score.⁵ In the Utah study, many of the respondents were members of the Latter-day Saints (Mormon) Church, and for these particularly, but for other families as well, there were three principal difficulties concerning the scoring of contributions:

The first relates to the over-all church organization and suborganizations. Suppose a person makes a financial contribution to the church; should he receive points on that item in all the intrachurch organizations of which he is a member? Or should he receive credit for only one of the intrachurch organizations? If so, which one?

Suppose, further, that his contribution to the church is as low as 50 cents or less per year. Should he get credit in all the church organizations? Or does he get credit in all the organizations only if his church contribution is large? Assuming that the size of the contribution might be a cue to the researcher, there is still the problem of what is a "large" and a "small" contribution.

There is another still greater difficulty. How should credit for contributions be assigned in cases where the contribution is in name or fact from the family as a whole? In the Latter-day Saints Church, a family-oriented institution, financial contributions tend to be family contributions. In this case, should one person, say the head of a household, be the only family member credited with contributions to the church, or should his wife receive equal credit? What if either wife or husband favors this contribution and the other resists it? Is it necessary to find out who resists and who favors—in short, whether the contribution is a personal one or a family contribution? If that can be decided, how should a family contribution be scored?

Still another difficulty is in getting this kind of financial information from the interviewee. In the Latter-day Saints Church, a good member is expected to pay tithing, ward budget, fast offerings, welfare contributions, Primary pennies, Sunday School 15-cents, Relief Society dues (if female adult) and Priesthood dues (for boys and men holding the Priesthood). Of these, the tithing and the ward budget constitute the larger segments; the other outlays are relatively small. Because some of these outlays are small and because of the many church and secular organization requests for money in the average Utah village, the interviewee has difficulty remembering to which of his organizations he has actually contributed the smaller amounts.

(3) The third reason for not using the Chapin Scale was that its measurement of attendance seemed too gross. This and other existing scales fail to distinguish between those who attend only a minimum number of times and those who attend regularly. Many church organizations meet as often as once a week or month, and the person who attends only once or a few times a year is quite a different participation type from the one who attends regularly. Since so many of the Utah sample—and of American families in general—participate in church organizations, it seemed that the measuring instrument for partici-

⁴ Roy C. Buck and Louis A. Ploch, *Factors Related to Changes in Social Participation in a Rural Pennsylvania Community*, Pennsylvania AES Bull. 582 (University Park, 1954).

⁵ Chapin, *op. cit.*

pation should have more sensitivity as to attendance.⁶

INVOLVEMENT THEORY OF PARTICIPATION

In seeking to devise a scale which would minimize the problems of theory and application encountered with the Chapin Scale, the author aimed for theoretical meaningfulness and simplicity of administration. As to theory, the following ideas, referred to here as the *involvement theory of participation*, emerged from the author's efforts to rethink the issues:

Participation is the dynamic aspect of the group. The process of participation is an involvement of the individual with the group. This involvement can be experienced by the individual in varying degrees. One degree is illustrated by being a member. To a greater or lesser degree, being a member means that the individual accepts the group and what it stands for, and has a feeling of being accepted by the group. The strength of this *attitude quality* in group participation may not be appreciated fully either by the member who does not attend functions or who may be censured by the group for inactivity, or by the group that does the censoring. Yet when such an individual is pitted against a nonmember, he feels and speaks as if he were supporting and protecting the group in question, and this is the case. We may speak of membership in the group and these feelings and attitudes which it reflects as one element of participation, signifying by itself a certain degree of involvement or participation in the group.

But membership alone does not represent a very active form of participation. Attendance represents a further degree of involvement. Attendance at meetings is sociologically significant primarily because of the *social interaction* and its derivatives that such attendance fosters. Nearly everyone is aware that he behaves differently in groups than when he is alone. Even the autocratic ruler of an organization is influenced by the various kinds of social interaction in the group.

Thus, one's social interaction in the group is signified in part by his attendance at group meetings and may vary in intensity with the extent of his attendance. Social interaction is the mechanism through which people affect each other in the group—the mechanism used by leaders and by other members for indoctrinating, teach-

ing, and otherwise influencing the members. Social interaction is the means by which the group comes to decisions, and formulates and effects action.

The importance of social interaction seems, therefore, to warrant more attention in participation studies. A statement by Kaufman seems to support this suggestion: "Perhaps the best single index of participation would be membership classified as to degree of activity such as inactive, moderately active, very active."⁷ To the writer's knowledge, however, there is no composite participation scale that gives differential weight to different degrees of attendance. To be sure, a number of studies have measured attendance by gradients, such as hours or number of meetings.⁸ But these studies do not use attendance as part of a scale or composite index which includes other participation items as well. By sensitizing the measurement of attendance, it is hoped that added meaning will be brought into participation measurement.

Some people, besides being members and attending meetings, hold committee assignments and officerships in the organization. Thus, another degree in participation involvement is added. This level or type of involvement may be referred to as *responsibility*. Along with such responsibility comes increased interaction, beyond that involved in attendance at regular meetings with the regular membership—e.g., special officers' meetings, committee meetings, telephoning. Usually an attitude quality then develops which is over and above that signified by ordinary membership or ordinary attendance. These three characteristics—responsibility, increased interaction, and the attitude quality—seem to justify the heuristic assignment of greater weight to committee and officership.

The scale to be presented in the next section has been developed to reflect the three degrees of participation or involvement discussed above: (1) attitude of acceptance, (2) social interaction, and (3) responsibility. Attitude of acceptance of the organization is reflected by each of the following: membership, attendance, committee, and officership. Social interaction is reflected by: attendance, committee, and officership, but not by simple membership alone. Responsibility is reflected by being on committees to do certain jobs of

⁷ Harold F. Kaufman, *Participation in Organized Activities in Selected Kentucky Localities*, Kentucky AES Bull. 528 (Lexington, 1949), p. 42.

⁸ See Joseph A. Geddes, *Farm Versus Village Living in Utah*, Utah AES Bull. 269 (Logan, 1936), for a thorough study of this kind.

⁶ Lowry Nelson has pointed out that American farmers spend more time in church organizations than in any other. (See his *Rural Sociology* [2nd ed.; New York: American Book Co., 1955], p. 324.)

the organization and/or by being an officer to lead and direct the organization; it is not reflected by simple membership or attendance.

THE REVISED SCALE⁹

The scale as finally developed is as follows:

Weights	Degree of Involvement
1	Membership
2	Attendance at about one-fourth of meetings
3	Attendance at about one-half of meetings
4	Attendance at about three-fourths or more of meetings
5	Membership on a committee
6	Holding an office

Thus, a member of an organization who attends about three-fourths or more of the meetings, who is a member of one committee, and who holds one office would receive 16 points for that organization. While it is not purported that the weighting is statistically established, the logic of the scoring should be sound, since the weights increase with degree of involvement.¹⁰

It will be noted that the basic pattern and weighting of this scale is like that of Chapin's. Thus, any credit given it can not be in regard to the basic pattern. Rather the contribution comes, it is hoped, in its deviation from the Chapin Scale on two items—the scoring of three degrees of attendance instead of one, and the omission of contributions.

BASIS FOR SCORING ATTENDANCE

Since simplicity of administration was a major goal for the revised scale, the question of how much an informant could easily remember about the frequency of his attendance was important. Two categories of attendance—"less than half" and "more than half" of the meetings—were first tried; but three categories were found to be simpler because many people tended to think in terms of "about half" instead of less or more than half. For the three categories, the less specific wording of "considerably more than half," "about half," and "considerably less than half" was first tried,

but this left both interviewees and interviewers with too many questions and differences of interpretation.

In getting the attendance information, it was found helpful to begin with the question, "How often have you attended the meetings in the past year?" Whatever answer was given was then checked by further probing. In the case of meetings held once or more a month, the respondent was asked whether he had attended any meetings in the past month, and if so, how many. This was followed by, "Was last month an average month?" The interviewers interpreted the total answer to fit into one of the frequency categories. If the proportion of meetings attended was nearer zero than a fourth, no points were given for attendance. Generally speaking, the probing required very little extra effort, and the attendance information seemed more reliable and easier to get than Chapin's contributions item.

ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR NOT USING CONTRIBUTIONS

After the revised scale had been completed, an additional reason for omitting financial contributions was apparent. Of the three degrees of involvement—attitude of acceptance, social interaction, and responsibility—contributions would reflect only the first. To be sure, along with membership, attendance, committee membership, and officership it is likely to be a reasonably good additional index of the attitude of acceptance. Yet, of all the items, it is potentially most capable of abuse as an index of the attitude of acceptance. A person may contribute money to an organization not because he is in favor of the group, but because he wants the favor of the group. It may be his best means to win its good will, short of personal affiliation and/or attendance at activities. In some cases, it might simply be good business for him to have the favor of the group. While it is unlikely that most financial contributions would be made for these reasons, this might be one of the easiest ways for a person to signify falsely his allegiance. True, an individual can achieve somewhat the same results simply by attendance at meetings, but it is unlikely that he would do this for long if he is basically nonacceptant of the group and its objectives.

But even assuming that the pretense of showing allegiance by financial contribution is of minor importance, there is still the problem of how this item could be used in the revised scale—specifically, what weight it should have. In the Chapin Scale,

⁹ Appreciation is expressed to Carl Berg, graduate student at Utah State University, for helping to develop this scale.

¹⁰ It is not claimed that this scale has been tested statistically for validity and reliability, or that it has been weighted by statistical procedures. It is thought to have considerable self-evident validity and theoretical soundness, but statistical testing should be a next step.

the weight for financial contribution exceeds that for attendance. When attendance could mean as little as going to one meeting per year, this was not hard to justify. But with the three levels of attendance and the greater weights of the present scale, it is difficult on a "self-evident" basis to determine the place of contributions in the continuum of scale weights. It would be necessary to follow Chapin's procedure of weighting, or a more involved one, to include the financial item in the present scale.

LONG-TIME INTRAFAMILY TRANSMISSION AND SUCCESSION PRACTICES*

by Albert E. Levak†

INTRODUCTION

This note is concerned with the process and results of the transmission and succession of property in land from one generation to the next, within the same family, for an extended period of time. Relatively little is known in our society about the process of inheritance in general, and there is a lack of empirical data on long-time family transmission and succession practices and their results.¹ Those who have devoted time and effort to the problem of transmission and succession have written primarily of contemporary problems of the transmission of agricultural land.

Presented here are findings from a study of Michigan Centennial Farmers; the data relate to the following questions: What have been the transmission and succession practices utilized by past owners of farms that have been kept in the family? What

has been the result of long-time family ownership of agricultural land in Michigan?

SOURCES OF DATA

Centennial Farmers are those persons who own land in Michigan, either all or part of which has been owned by them and their ancestors for 100 years or longer. Ancestors by blood relationship and those by marriage or adoption are counted, so long as the legal succession of ownership has been continuous for a period of 100 years. A Centennial Farm is that land which has been transferred to a member of the family in all transfers of ownership.² One important factor must be emphasized to prevent the reader's misinterpretation: *Recognition as a Centennial Farmer is based on ownership and not operatorship.*

As of November 30, 1950, the date when this study was begun, there were 234 Centennial Farms. A purposive, stratified sample of 44 cases was selected for study. In every instance, the owner whose name appeared on the Centennial Farm Certificate was interviewed.

TENURE STATUS

Long-time family ownership of farmland in Michigan seems to have resulted in an increasing proportion of this land being held by non-operators. While all the original owners of the Centennial Farms were owner-operators, today's Centennial Farmers can be classified in four tenure categories, based upon the management of the land: (1) *owner-operators*—owners who are operating all the land they own; (2) *owners with related tenants*—owners not engaged in farming but renting land to related tenants only; (3) *owners with non-related tenants*—owners not engaged in farming but renting land to non-related tenants only; and (4) *owners with idle farms*—owners whose land is not being used in any farming endeavor.³ The percentage distribution of the 44 Centennial Farms in the sample was as follows:

* A farm, for purposes of the award, is 3 or more acres—or fewer acres if the products raised are valued at \$250.00 or more—on which some agricultural operations are performed by one person, either by his own labor alone or with the assistance of members of his household, or hired employees. (Definition used by Michigan Historical Commission for making awards.)

† These are empirical types, derived primarily from data rather than theory. As such they do not exhaust the logical possibilities. Despite the definition of a farm used by the Commission (footnote 2), a fifth of the owners reported no agricultural operations at the time of the interview.

* Condensed version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, College Park, Md., Aug. 29, 1955. The basic data are from the author's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "Michigan Centennial Farmers: Social Correlates of Farm Ownership for an Extended Period of Time" (Michigan State University, 1954).

The Michigan Historical Commission began the Centennial Farm Program and awarded Centennial Farm Certificates and Plaques. Field work for the research was financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

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¹ There are some notable exceptions. See James D. Tarver, "Wisconsin Century Farm Families: A Study of Farm Succession Processes" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1950), p. 15; James D. Tarver, "Intra-Family Farm Succession Practices," *Rural Sociology*, XVII:3 (Sept., 1952), pp. 268-271; Horace Miner, *St. Dennis: A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1939); Edmund deS. Brunner, *Case Studies of Family Farms* (New York: Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life, no date).

	Per cent
Owner-operators	23
Owners with related tenants.....	23
Owners with non-related tenants..	34
Owners with idle farms.....	20

Thus, the sample respondents are relatively equally distributed along a tenure continuum from owner-operators through owners with idle farms.

In comparison with all farm owners in Michigan and in the United States, the Centennial Farmers include a much lower proportion of owner operators:⁴

	Centennial Farmers	Mich- igan	United States
	Per cent		
Owner-operators..	23	64	56
Non-operating landlords	57	16	18
Others	20	20	26

It is apparent that less than half of the Centennial Farms are currently being operated by a member of the family. Moreover, in the case of the 54 per cent of the farms not being operated by a member of the family, the average time since the farm was operated by a family member is 16.3 years and the range is from 1 to 60 years.

The Centennial Farmers have retained ownership of the land beyond the peak of their physical ability to do farm work. It has been demonstrated by one study that the productive capacity of a farmer generally begins to decrease rapidly after he attains 55 years of age.⁵ Approximately 80 per cent of the Centennial Farmers are beyond that age, while 64 per cent have passed the assumed normal retirement age of 65 years. The average age of the owner-operators is 54.0 years, compared with 71.9 years for the owners who are not operators.

TRANSMISSION AND SUCCESSION

It is generally accepted that our society has no institutionalized practice for the transmission and succession of property.⁶

⁴ Data regarding tenure in Michigan and in the United States were obtained from the following two sources, respectively: John F. Timmons and Raleigh Barlowe, *Farm Ownership in the Midwest*, Iowa AES Res. Bull. 361 (Ames, 1949), Table 5, p. 861; and Buis T. Inman and William H. Pippin, *Farm Land Ownership in the United States*, USDA, BAE Misc. Pub. 699 (Washington, 1949), Table 11, p. 21.

⁵ Kenneth Parsons and Elliot O. Waples, *Keeping the Farm in the Family*, Wisconsin AES Res. Bull. 157 (Madison, 1945), p. 17.

⁶ "... there is no general uniform, institutionalized practice whereby a child may take over at

However, one might assume that the Centennial Farm owners had developed an institutionalized practice for keeping the farm in the family, in the form of a consistent pattern of choice of heir (by birth order and/or sex) or method of transmission. The data indicate that the owners in the history of the Centennial Farms have generally given each of the heirs equal or nearly equal portions of the property, and that neither birth order nor sex of the children has played a significant role in inheritance of the farm.

In the 101 transfers of ownership, 56 per cent resulted in the property being divided into shares. In 36 per cent of the cases, the farm was transferred to one heir; in a fifth of these cases, there was only one child anyhow. Eight per cent of the transfers conveyed the property rights to two or more heirs in undivided interest.⁷

The past owners did not establish any consistent pattern as to method of transfer. The farms were transferred by testate action in 45 per cent of the cases, settlement took place in 22 per cent, and intestate action occurred in 33 per cent.⁸ In transferring the farms, the 44 families used 19 different orderings or combinations of transfer methods. In eight case histories, testate action was used in all transfers; in three cases, intestate procedure was used in all transfers; and in the remainder, the three transfer methods were used in various other combinations.

Even though the Centennial Farmers constitute an aged group, all of whom express a desire to keep the farm in the family through future generations, only 17 per cent of them have prepared wills.

CONCLUSIONS

Long-time intrafamily transmission and succession of farmland in Michigan has resulted in a deviation from the ideal of owner-operatorship, owing to the fact that Centennial Farm owners retain ownership

least part of the farm operation when the father's ability and strength are declining." (From Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beggle, *Rural Social Systems* [New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950], pp. 86 f.)

⁷ Undivided interest exists when two or more people, other than husband and wife, have ownership rights in the same property. Each has an equal voice in the utilization of the property.

⁸ Settlement involves a complete disposal of the property prior to the owner's death. Testate action includes all transfer plans made during the owner's lifetime to take effect upon his death. Intestate action results when the deceased did not use either of the previous methods and disposition is in accord with state laws of descent and distribution.

rights beyond the peak of physical productivity.

Retention of the ownership rights may be the result of the lack of an institutionalized pattern of transmission and succession in the history of the families. Rather than an established pattern by birth order or sex of the children, or by method of transmission, the disposition of the property by past owners reflects an equalitarian point of view. The fact that so few of the present owners have made plans for the disposition of their property may be a further indication of the lack of an institutionalized pattern of transmission and succession.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN A NORWEGIAN VALLEY COMMUNITY

by Margaret Wilson Vinet

Research on acculturation has dealt almost entirely with non-European peoples and underdeveloped areas. This is not the whole picture. There are nonindustrial segments of European society which have recently experienced great technological and nontechnological changes. The Setesdal Valley in South Norway represents such a case. Buried from the outside world until a few years ago, it is one of the most isolated of the many valley communities in Norway. During the present century, the Norwegian government has been introducing technological and institutional changes of vast consequences in her valley communities. It seems appropriate to examine such a community, to analyze the attitudes of the people toward social change, and to isolate the factors which encourage and those which discourage the acceptance of change.

Accompanied by Rigmor Fremannslund, curator of the Oslo Norse Folk Museum, who was on museum research, the author visited this community—the Setesdal Valley—in July, 1952. She journeyed the entire length of the valley and stayed overnight in homes of the Setesdal people. This gave her the opportunity to interview the people with the aid of her Norwegian friend as interpreter. She talked with official leaders—the clergy, the local museum head, schoolteachers, and members of the local governing boards—as well as storekeepers, farmers, and wives. This analysis is based on her observations and recorded interviews.

THE ISOLATED SETESDAL VALLEY

The Setesdal Valley, part of Aust Agder County, is one of the longest and most iso-

lated valleys in Norway. (See map for location of the valley.) From the fingerlike, picturesque lake of Byglandsfjorden in the south, the valley extends to the watershed of Haukeli in the north, a distance of about 75 miles. The Otra River follows the valley and forms a number of lakes and falls. At the south, the valley disappears and there are high mountains covered by dense forests which make transportation difficult to the coastal city of Kristiansand. In the upper limits, the valley also narrows and gradually turns into a mountain plateau, 3,000 feet high, which extends into the snow-clad mountain peaks. Mountain ranges rise to a great height on either side of the river valley. Some are similar to the mountain plateau on the north; others are covered with snow.



LOCATION OF THE SETESDAL VALLEY OF NORWAY ON THE SCANDINAVIAN PENINSULA

Historians give the date A.D. 1,000 as the time primitive hunters and fishermen had settled in this valley and established farms.¹ Christianity was introduced into Scandinavia at that time. Relations with the Western World gradually became more peaceful, and by the Middle Ages the peasant families of this valley had developed a settled existence. Norway, unlike most of Western Europe, did not experience a feudal period.² The Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century permeated this

¹ Peter Vogt, *Norway Today* (Los Angeles: Knud K. Mogensen, 1951), pp. 8 ff.

² Peter Munch, "The Peasant Movement in Norway: A Study in Class and Culture," *The British Journal of Sociology*, V:1 (Mar., 1954), pp. 63-77.

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section and converted the valley people into pious Lutherans. Only pack tracks over the east and west sides of the mountain existed for communication with neighboring valleys. Until the twentieth century, this valley community was isolated from the outside world. Then an electric railroad was built over the pine-clad mountains at the south to connect the port of Kristiansand with the valley. A few years ago, a dirt road was constructed from Kristiansand through the valley to the mountain plateau at the north, where it connects with the main Telemark-Hardanger road over the northern highland moors.

The road is kept open all year in the valley, but the parts of the road at the north and south which lead out of the valley are closed nine months of the year. Also, the electric railroad is unable to operate during the winter months. Hence, communication with the outside is possible only during the summer months.

The difficulties of communication that geography and climate have created have played an important part in shaping the cultural and social life of the valley people. Practically cut off from other peoples, they have developed a "sacred society" with an almost impermeable value system that is resistant to social change.

SETESDOL LIFE

The Setesdol people⁴ live mainly on farms scattered along the river valley. Usually the farmhouse is near a mountain stream, which is the family's water source, and in a spot protected from the snow or rock slides down the mountains. There are approximately eighteen villages, one about every four miles along the Otra River and Byglandsfjorden Lake. They have only a few buildings: a store, a Lutheran Church, and occasionally a tourist home, lumber camp, or undivided (ungraded) school.

The economy of the people is based on

agriculture, particularly cattle raising.⁵ For centuries these people have cared for cows, sheep, and, to a lesser extent, goats, in permanent pastures near their farms. In the summer months, the herds are moved up to the *seters*—small huts situated above the timber line and close to richer mountain pastures. Dairy products—milk, butter, and cheese—are sold to the valley cooperatives. Grass plots surrounding the farms are carefully cut, the grass is dried on wire fences in typical Norwegian fashion, and the dried grass is stored in the barn for cattle fodder. During most of the year the people live in their farm houses, surrounded by farm buildings, on their small plot of land. Every July and August, one or two men of the family live in huts on the mountain plateau while the cattle are given fresh summer pasture on the moors. All farmers have horses for beasts of burden and a dog to drive the cattle. A few crops are raised on each farm, and a small garden is planted near the farmhouse for family food. In the winter, the men of the community cut lumber for home use in the forest of the valley. Some work for wages with the lumber companies to supplement their meagre livelihood.

Each family lives in a simple timber-logged house surrounded by five or six other timber-logged farm buildings: barns, storage house or *stubbur*, sheds, and smokehouse. The buildings are built by the men in the family. The household furnishings are rough-hewn wood tables, chairs, cupboards, and chests. Every room has a bunk for sleeping. The two downstairs rooms are heated: an open fire warms the kitchen while a fireplace stove heats the living room. Upstairs are two bedrooms, with a bed and stove in each. Some of the oldest houses were built in the seventeenth century or earlier. The more recent ones have hewn joints, and have cast-iron stoves in each room. The roofs of all buildings are turfed—lined with birch bark and planted with grass—to protect the dwellers from the cold winter wind or the hot summer sun. Practically every building—homes and surrounding barns and sheds—is built on the same plan, which originated in the sixteenth century.

Clothing is usually woven by hand on the loom which occupies a corner of every

⁴ The Setesdal Valley provides a good example of a sacred society. This ideal type has been defined by Howard Becker as "one that elicits from or imparts to its members, by means of socialization, an unwillingness and/or inability to respond to the culturally new as the new is defined by those members in terms of the society's existing culture. . . . The impermeability of a value-system depends on the absence of effective intersocietal communication; . . ." (See his article, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, XXVIII:4 [May, 1950], pp. 363-365.)

⁵ Unfortunately there are no official population statistics available, as the valley is a natural unit, not a political division. From various local leaders the author obtained estimates that indicate a population of 400.

⁵ For a good description of the economy of the Norwegian valley peoples, see Fredrik Barth, "Subsistence and Institutional System in a Norwegian Mountain Valley," *Rural Sociology*, XVII:1 (Mar., 1952), pp. 28-38. The economy of the Solila Valley, which he describes, is similar to that of the Setesdal Valley.

living room. The Setesdols wear characteristic folk costumes of heavy wool for everyday use and Sunday best. Silver ornaments and buckles for the best costumes are made by the men. Some younger people buy cotton and woolen clothes in the stores for everyday wear, but even they own their homemade folk costumes and wear them occasionally. The women knit socks, sweaters, scarfs, and other necessary items.

Families are amazingly self-sufficient in growing their own food. Dairy products and meat are furnished by the cattle; rye and barley, potatoes, cabbage, and peas are grown in the garden. The diet is supplemented with wild berries found on the nearby mountains and fish caught in the stream. Usually the family buys wheat flour, eggs, some fish products, coffee, and salt from the local store.

The valley people are an indigenous group. Because of isolation and poverty of the soil and natural resources, there has been little immigration to Setesdal. Emigration to other parts of Norway and to America has been common. In the late nineteenth century the largest numbers went to the "New Country."

It is no surprise to find that everyone is acquainted. Kinship is of great importance. All the men in the family cooperate in the farming, lumbering, fishing, hunting, and building, while all the women work together in housekeeping, sewing, caring for the cattle, milking, and light farm chores. In times of difficulty, mutual aid is given by neighbors. Otherwise, relations with nonrelatives are formal except on festival occasions.

All people are pious⁶ Lutherans. The Bible occupies a prominent place on every living-room table and is the main reading material for all. A distinctive part of each village is the small, octagonal, wooden church surrounded by a cemetery with hand-wrought iron crosses as markers. The church upholds the stern values of hard work, love and respect for family, worship, kindness, and aid to the needy.

⁶ See Knut Rygnestad, *Sluk Var Setesdal* (Oslo: Lutheristiftelsens Forlag, 1949), p. 148. In his study of Norwegian national culture, David Rodnick found Eastern Norwegians indifferent to the Lutheran State Church and the role of this church limited to supplying services such as baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial. (See his book, *The Norwegians, A Study in National Culture* [Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950], p. 119.) As far as the author could ascertain, Rodnick did not visit this valley and did not include the Setesdols in his interpretation of Norwegian religious patterns.

Rites of passage are important religious ceremonies. Christening, confirmation, marriage, and burial are the main ones, and are usually family events under the auspices of the clergy. The church and other institutions, particularly government and the school, are interrelated. Local rural districts in Norway were formed from ecclesiastical districts. Parishes are the smallest rural districts, and the Setesdol clergyman is an important functionary in the local government, although there are self-governing committees of local men. Ecclesiastical districts can be traced back to the Middle Ages, while local governmental districts were not created until the early twentieth century. Norway requires seven years of elementary schooling, and the Setesdols are literate. Since this is a homogeneous community, social control is enforced informally through the mores, by family and neighbors. There is little need or occasion for reference to the written laws of the state, and special law-enforcement agents other than the clergy are unnecessary.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL CHANGE

The attitude toward social change, or anything new, in this traditional society appears to be apathy, rather than hostility. Very little curiosity is evidenced. The inhabitants are so absorbed in their struggle for a meagre existence from the soil and forests and in living a good life that they do not appear to be interested in things which would change their way of living or thinking. It may be well to point out that this peasant community experienced only a few changes in its patterns of life from the Middle Ages up to the twentieth century. The startling changes have been in the twentieth century during Norway's period of rapid industrialization, and thus are comparatively recent.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHANGES

Two institutions in this society are comparatively new: the government and the school. Since the schools are run by the government and centrally controlled, perhaps they should not be considered a separate institution. In any case, these institutions are interrelated and trace their origin to the church. Local governmental units were created out of ecclesiastical districts just after 1900, and schools were subsequently developed. Compulsory school laws were passed by 1912 and fully enforced by the 1920's.⁷

⁷ Vogt, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

Within the past fifty years, electric power plants have been built on the river and these furnish cheap electricity to everyone in the valley. The road through the valley and the electric railroad which runs from the southern end of the valley to Kristiansand have made possible effective communication with the outside world during the summer months, and have increased communication within the valley throughout the year. This is a popular valley for Norwegian hikers during the warm season, and occasionally there are a few foreign tourists. These outsiders traverse the valley in a few days via bus or bicycle, or on foot. The hostel managers have the most contact with them, but even they evince no particular interest in the hikers or tourists. In fact, the natives are so shy, especially the women and children, that they often blush and disappear when accosted by a stranger.

FACTORS MAKING FOR CHANGE

One of the most significant factors producing social change is an external force—the Norwegian State Government. It created local divisions in 1905, and since that time has exerted some degree of control over the valley community. The national government collects taxes, provides social security, provides and compels schooling, and performs other functions. The people have accepted it in stolid fashion. The school, which has been a source of friction in some sacred societies, has not proved so for the Setesdols because of its practical nature and religious emphasis. Country Norwegian is the chief language spoken in the school.⁸ Reading and writing in City Norwegian may be a chore that is soon forgotten after seven years of schooling, but it is accompanied by reading and writing in Country Norwegian (Setesdol dialect), and by instruction in local knowledge, natural science, gymnastics, carpentry, sewing, history, geography, housework and gardening, and the all-important Christian knowledge.⁹ The school teachers are local people, and the subjects are both familiar and useful; so the community has found that the school saves them time.

⁸ Sverre Mortensen and A. Skolen, *The Norwegian Yearbook* (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1950), pp. 50 f. The Norwegian language is in reality two languages. Country Norwegian developed from the speech of the original settlers and is spoken in at least two hundred dialects. City Norwegian evolved from Danish while Norway was under Danish domination, between 1388 and 1814. It is the official and literary language as well as the language of the cities. Most Norwegian schools teach both.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

The changes which have occurred have fitted into the Setesdal value system and in some cases reinforced it. The school has strengthened Christianity and the agricultural way of life. It has decreased the educational function of the family, but that has given the family time to do more farm and house work. The government's services and the technological changes it has introduced have enriched family farm living and enhanced the people's value system. Other changes, such as the selling of processed food and ready-made clothing in the general stores, have produced no conflict of values. The church has never tried to regulate specific food and clothing, but has stressed simplicity.

Most changes have to some degree eased the work of the people. The results, however, are not particularly noticeable since the hours saved are utilized in more farming and housework. Electricity facilitates nightwork in the home, but it actually lengthens the time available for both homework and farming. The milking and cattle tending can now be done after dark. The people questioned were convinced that they work as long as their fathers did.

Other factors making for change are dissatisfactions with the present situation, and economic necessity. Emigration to America and other parts of Norway shows evidence of these. There is not enough land to support the growing population; so the people who are least satisfied with life in the valley leave.

FACTORS RESISTING CHANGE

One of the most significant factors resisting change is ethnocentrism. The people's pride in, and feeling of rightness about, their culture, customs, land, and way of life have been built up through the ages. This feeling has been reinforced by all the institutions: the family, the church, the economic system, the government, and the school. The government fosters historical associations to record local history: accurate and accumulative accounts of people's births, marriages, places of residence, and deaths or dates of emigration. Cultural histories and records of important events are also kept. The local museum, supported by the government, is housed in an ancient *stabbur*, so characteristic of the valley. Memorable folk costumes, silver buckles and ornaments used on these costumes, and ancient farm and household equipment are kept on display or preserved there. Local festivals and celebrations are encouraged by the government and the church. The schools devote considerable

time to local history, and in their applied subjects train the boys in silversmithing, carving, and carpentry, and the girls in weaving and making their folk costumes.

The Setesdøl dialect is an impeding factor in social change. Because of the lack of communication with neighboring valleys, the Setesdøl people have developed a distinctive vocabulary. Speech is also marked by a diphthongization of the long vowels that make it rather difficult for other Norwegians to understand.

The life of the people gives them security, even though theirs is a bare existence. The Norwegian farmers think of themselves as conservers of the soil; for them wealth is not so much a matter of profit or capital, but of satisfactions from work well done, farms kept in good condition, and the knowledge that future generations are secure.¹⁰ Ties to the land and the Setesdøl traditions are strong. They are reinforced by the close personal ties to the family. Pleasures and recreation are found in dancing, folk celebrations, and hunting and fishing in the mountains and valley. Nature provides variety and adventure.

Unlike other parts of Norway, Setesdøl was relatively untouched by World War II. The Nazis did not penetrate this valley; so the Setesdøls escaped the experience of invasion and occupation by a foreign power.

The Setesdøl shows a peasant stolidity in his preference to be left alone. He does not feel that the world has grown smaller because of improved communications, and he does not appear interested in the Norwegian government's insistence on the development of his valley's electric power and roads. He has not altered his past attitudes in any significant way.

SUMMARY

The Setesdøl Valley people in Norway exemplify a sacred society which maintains an almost impermeable value system. Extreme isolation because of geography and climate has allowed this group to build up a traditional peasant society without outside contacts. Since about 1920, when communications improved, they have had electricity, schooling, roads, and government services forced upon them. Because their value system does not encourage change, they have not particularly wanted these changes, nor have they utilized them to utmost advantage. They have met the changes in an apathetic way, and continue their life in the traditional manner. The most important factor encouraging change

comes from outside the community and is the national government. It is noteworthy that the changes which have occurred have fitted into the people's value system, have not materially altered their way of life, and to some extent have made it easier. Other factors discourage change, and these appear more significant: the feeling of local pride and the belief that their ways are the best (ethnocentrism), the language difference, ties of land and people, values of religion and agriculture which give the people security, adventure and pleasure in hunting and fishing, folk-festival activities which unite the group, isolation even during World War II, and lack of interest in the outside world. The result is that the people do not use farm machinery, although they know it exists; they do not particularly want labor-saving electrical equipment, although they have cheap electricity; they do not want to buy their food and clothes, although these items are available at the local stores. Apparently the tourists and hikers do not arouse their interest in the outside world. They accept apathetically what changes the government forces on them, but that is all.

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE*

by Wayne C. Rohrer and Robert Hirszt†

There is a pressing need for the continuation and enlargement in scope of the current widespread research on the social, economic, and demographic structure of the metropolitan community.¹ These studies directly concern rural sociologists when they deal with metropolitan dominance and with suburbanization.² The authors believe that a short citation of certain problems concerning the latter factor which they encountered in their current demographic researches will be of interest to others.

Rural and urban populations are continually being contrasted, and there is a continuing need for such comparative analysis—both for the nation and in and between

*Contribution No. 2737, Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station. Scientific article A575.

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¹ Donald J. Bogue (ed.), *Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research*, Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution, No. 7 (Miami, Ohio, 1953).

² Papers and discussions on "The Sociological Significance of the Rural-Urban Fringe," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:2 (June, 1953), pp. 101-120.

¹⁰ Rodnick, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

TABLE 1. CENTRAL CITY AND SUBURBAN POPULATIONS OF MARYLAND'S METROPOLITAN¹ RESIDENTS, BY AGE AND SEX, 1950

Age	Sex and residence							
	Males				Females			
	Central city ²		Urban fringe ³		Central city ²		Urban fringe ³	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All.....	461,402	100.0	230,109	100.0	488,306	100.0	234,156	100.0
0-4.....	47,042	10.1	32,200	14.0	45,414	9.3	30,430	13.1
5-9.....	37,169	8.1	23,417	10.2	36,326	7.4	22,224	9.5
10-14.....	29,669	6.4	14,826	6.4	29,702	6.1	14,592	6.2
15-19.....	28,018	6.1	12,742	5.5	31,514	6.5	12,901	5.5
20-24.....	35,423	7.7	16,951	7.4	40,423	8.3	19,287	8.2
25-29.....	42,232	9.2	23,155	10.1	45,135	9.2	26,315	11.4
30-34.....	39,160	8.5	23,691	10.3	40,932	8.4	23,769	10.3
35-39.....	37,956	8.2	20,727	9.0	39,015	8.0	20,190	8.6
40-44.....	34,630	7.5	17,405	7.6	35,401	7.3	16,227	6.9
45-49.....	31,339	6.8	13,028	5.7	31,515	6.5	12,270	5.3
50-54.....	28,551	6.2	10,421	4.5	28,794	5.9	10,164	4.3
55-59.....	22,918	5.0	7,789	3.4	23,647	4.8	7,707	3.3
60-64.....	18,223	4.0	5,407	2.3	19,619	4.0	5,947	2.5
65-69.....	13,052	2.8	3,697	1.6	16,722	3.4	4,816	2.1
70-74.....	8,007	1.7	2,295	1.0	11,280	2.3	3,256	1.4
75-84.....	7,013	1.5	2,045	0.9	10,823	2.2	3,379	1.4
85 and over.....	1,000	0.2	313	0.1	2,044	0.4	682	0.0

¹ Not equivalent to the Census concept of Standard Metropolitan Area. Includes central city and urban fringe populations as defined in footnotes 2 and 3.

² Baltimore City.

³ Urbanized areas of Baltimore and Washington (Maryland portion) minus the central cities and some types of incorporated areas.

the states and smaller subdivisions.³ But it is erroneous to treat the urban population as a homogeneous ecological unit, which it is not, and to continue to compare the rural population to it as a whole rather than to its parts.⁴ Recently completed work by one of the authors on the metropolitan and non-metropolitan populations in Maryland discloses quite clearly very real differences in the characteristics of the central city and its suburban population. Table 1 shows the distribution, by sex and age, of the central-city and urban-fringe portions of Maryland's metropolitan area population. The differences are quite significant. Numerous other characteristics of the two populations have been studied to date, and

in each case there are real differences between them.⁵

A second problem encountered concerns the delineation of the suburban area. The Census Bureau uses the concept of the urbanized area to include the central city of a metropolis and those contiguous or near-contiguous, densely settled areas just beyond the city's legal boundaries. These areas outside the city limits which the Census includes in the urbanized area are clearly suburban; there is dependency on the central city for public utilities, public transportation, partial economic services, and employment. But a more accurate delineation of the suburbs would also include the numerous, small, noncontiguous urbanistic communities whose economies are as dependent upon the city as the former areas, even if in their social ties they may be possibly less dependent. Twenty years ago such communities may have been lim-

³ E.g., John Kolb and Edward deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (4th ed.; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), chap. 4; and Paul Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), chap. 3.

⁴ Cf. Charles Newcomb, "Graphic Presentation of Age and Sex Distributions of Population in the City," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 287-296.

This criticism is equally true, of course, with reference to the rural population. Scattered and uneven efforts at subdivision of the rural population are found in most rural sociology textbooks.

⁵ Those so far examined include income, education, occupation, color, fertility, dependency, sex ratios, and mobility, 1949-1950. Differences are readily observable between the central city and the urban fringe on these variables. (Copies of the tables may be obtained by addressing the authors at the Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.)

TABLE 2. DIFFERENTIAL GROWTH OF WASHINGTON, D. C., AND VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF ITS STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA IN MARYLAND, 1940-1950*

Segment	Population		Per cent Increase, 1940-1950
	1940	1950	
Metropolitan counties in Maryland.....	173,402	358,583	106.8
City of Washington and its Maryland urbanized area..	836,493	1,160,761	38.8
City of Washington only.....	663,091	802,178	21.0
Maryland civil divisions inside urbanized area.....	57,009	133,303	133.8
Maryland civil divisions partly inside urbanized area..	43,306	114,019	163.3
Maryland civil divisions contiguous to urbanized area..	34,789	55,631	59.9
Remainder of the Maryland counties containing parts of the urbanized area.....	19,625	24,204	23.3

*Data retabulated from Maryland-National Capital Parks and Planning Commission Tech. Bull. 1, Tables 5 and 6.

ited in number, but since World War II the number has increased greatly. These communities have been peopled by out-migrants from cities as well as in-migrants from other places. These areas may be rightfully classified as suburban, although modern highway networks permit them to be as much as 10 or 20 miles distant from the legal boundaries of the city. Such distances and their noncontiguous character currently place these communities beyond the scope of the Census definition of suburban area. Some figures compiled for Washington's metropolitan area by the research staff of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission are retabulated and presented above (Table 2) to show the extensive growth of these outlying suburbs and their significance in the over-all suburban development.

Undoubtedly the continuous research and review practiced by the Census Bureau will lead to modifications along these lines in the urbanized area definition before the 1960 census. However, the authors believe that this definition, so long as it is based upon the factors of contiguity and density, will fail to include legitimate segments of the suburbs. It seems likely that suburbs of the type now excluded will continue to grow in number and size. A new criterion for suburbs appears to be needed, and a good prospect for such a measure is available—namely, the daily mass exodus of employed persons to the central city and its immediate environs. The ratio of this "exodus population" to the total population of a community or area should prove to be a serviceable index.

AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF FAMILY AUTHORITY PATTERNS*

by LaMar T. Empey†

Despite the amount of literature which has been devoted to the relative merits of democratic and authoritarian types of family government and decision making, relatively little attention has been devoted to the empirical measurement of family authority patterns. It is a difficult task. Most attempts have been concerned with small children and have relied on the opinions of parents as to the type of family government in the home.¹ Blood, however, combined the opinions of parents with actual observations.² But few instruments have been developed which measure the child's perception of the authority pattern in his family.

In 1953, in *Rural Sociology*, Stone and Landis reported the use of such an instrument on 4,310 high-school seniors.³ Their instrument was a Guttman-type scale which utilized six Likert-type questions,

*The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance given him in the preparation of this paper by the Department of Rural Sociology, State College of Washington, and by Carol L. Stone.

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¹E.g., see Evelyn M. Duvall, "Conceptions of Parenthood," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (Nov., 1946), pp. 193-203; and Rachel Elder, "Traditional and Developmental Conceptions of Fatherhood," *Marriage and Family Living*, XI (Summer, 1949), pp. 98-100, 106.

²Robert O. Blood, Jr., "Developmental and Traditional Child-Rearing Philosophies and Their Family Situational Consequences" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1952).

³Carol L. Stone and Paul H. Landis, "An Approach to Authority Pattern in Parent-Teen-Age Relationships," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:3 (Sept., 1953), pp. 233-242.

the responses to which were used to classify the families of these young people as "authoritarian," "intermediate," or "democratic." The responses of any individual to the questions in the scale are represented by a single score and, theoretically, the correlation of this score with any outside variable is equal to the multivariate correlation of all the items in the scale with that variable.

DEFINITION OF THE UNIVERSE

The research reported in the present paper represents an attempt to determine the feasibility of further use of this scale, and whether improvements may be made in it. Several questions arise in connection with the use of any Guttman scale. The first has to do with the *a priori* definition of the universe of qualitative data which a scale is supposed to represent—in this case, perceptions of family authority relationships. Guttman has said that in developing items for a scale,

... items are constructed which contain the content implied by the name of the area. Whether or not a given item has the proper content defining the area remains a matter of intuitive judgment; perhaps the consensus of several people versed in the area could serve as a criterion.⁴

Stone and Landis submitted a series of questions, developed on an *a priori* basis, to a number of Sociology Department staff members at the State College of Washington, for their opinions as to which questions would best differentiate between democratic and authoritarian families. On the basis of the replies they received, the researchers selected the 12 questions which were checked most often and submitted them to Guttman scaling. A scale of six items resulted. Whether the scale represents the whole universe of adolescent attitudes which indicate perceptions of family authority relationships, or whether it is only a subscale for one part of that universe, may still be questioned. There is no simple answer. The following is a list of the areas covered by the items in their scale: parents' attitudes toward the child's

opinions and judgment, whether or not parents discuss family problems with the child, parental attitudes toward the child's dating habits, parental generosity or "stinginess" with respect to the family income, and whether or not parents explain their reasons for requiring the child to do something. It is a matter of opinion as to whether these items adequately represent the whole universe, or only a subuniverse.

SCALABILITY FOR A NEW SAMPLE

The second question that arises is whether the items in the Stone-Landis instrument will scale for a sample of young people different from the one on which it was originally developed. (The original sample, taken in 1947, was composed of Washington State high-school seniors.) In order to deal with this problem, responses to the scale items were obtained in 1954 from a new probability sample of 1,981 Washington high-school seniors.⁵ It was possible that, in the seven years since the original sample was taken, changes had occurred in the universe of content or in the characteristics of the population which would make it necessary to reject the hypothesis of scalability for this new sample.

The Ford technique⁶ for use with IBM machines was utilized as the means of testing the hypothesis. This technique determines whether errors of reproducibility are within acceptable limits. Since coefficients of reproducibility of .93 for the 1,004 girls and .89 for the 977 boys were obtained, the error was within, or very near, the 10-percent limit. It was felt, therefore, that the hypothesis could be accepted and the scale used for substantive analysis. As a further check on the hypothesis, a subsample of 100 boys and 100 girls was selected. Responses were plotted on a scalogram, and marginal frequencies were examined to see that none were overly large. All were acceptable.⁷

⁴ This sample was a stratified, two-stage cluster sample in which the high school—not the student—was the primary sampling unit. For a complete discussion of the sample, see the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Relationship of Social Class and Family Authority Patterns to Occupational Choice of Washington High School Seniors" (State College of Washington, Pullman, 1955), chap. II.

⁵ Robert N. Ford, "A Rapid Scoring Procedure for Scaling Attitude Questions," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (1950), pp. 507-532.

⁷ In an effort to see if the scale could not be enlarged, or a new scale formed, several new items were included with the original ones and submitted to the whole scaling process. But, although a new quasi-scale was formed, it contained only six items, and the errors of reproducibility were much greater than those of the original.

⁴ Louis Guttman, "Questions and Answers about Scale Analysis," I. and E. Division, Report No. D-2 (Washington, D. C.: Headquarters, Army Service Forces, July, 1945; mimeo.). See also, Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), pp. 139-150; and *idem*, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis," in *Measurement of Consumer Interest*, edited by C. W. Churchman, R. L. Ackoff, and Murray Wax (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947), pp. 60-84.

TABLE 1. DEMOCRATIC-AUTHORITARIAN SCALE SCATTERGRAM OF INTENSITY AND CONTENT

Intensity	Content						Total
	(Authoritarian extreme) ←					→ (Democratic extreme)	
	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
14							
13							
12							8
11	1				6	6	15
10	3		1	1	24	18	24
9	4	1		5	64	39	48
8	10	3	4	15	112	62	46
7	12	8	16	35	180	67	26
6	13	20	44	68	175	38	6
5	16	23	83	63	97	19	3
4	13	24	86	42	19	5	
3	1	9	58	18	4	3	
2		2	25	2			
1		1	5	2			
0			2				
Total	73	91	324	251	681	257	176

DETERMINATION OF FAMILY AUTHORITY TYPES

A third question concerned the classification of respondents. On the basis of the configuration of their responses and scale scores, Stone and Landis arbitrarily divided their respondents into these three groups: *democratic*, the two top scale types; *intermediate*, the two middle types; and *authoritarian*, the three lower scale types.⁸ But such a division need not be arbitrary. "Intensity Analysis" offers an empirical means of assigning individuals to categories.⁹

As used by Stone and Landis, the scale simply ranked people along a continuum according to the degree of perceived democracy in the home. However, this rank order did not actually distinguish between those homes which were perceived to be democratic and those which were perceived to be authoritarian; it merely reflected dif-

ferences in perceived degree. The purpose of the intensity function is to provide a zero point on the continuum, so that it can be said that those to the right of the point (or the interval in which the point falls) perceive their homes as democratic and those to the left perceive them as authoritarian.

The *fold-over* technique of intensity analysis was used. First, it was necessary to obtain an intensity score. This was done by rescoring all of the content questions used in the scale. For example, on the question "When requiring you to do something, do your parents explain the reason?" the possible responses are: "Always," "Usually," "Sometimes," "Seldom," and "Never." The intensity score was obtained by giving the same score to answers at opposite ends of the check list, with the idea that the higher or lower a person's response is, the more likely he is to feel strongly about that answer. Those who answered "Always" or "Never" received an intensity

⁸ Stone and Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁹ Guttman, "The Cornell Technique . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 72-84.

TABLE 2. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN EACH AUTHORITY TYPE, AS DETERMINED BY ARBITRARY AND INTENSITY ANALYSIS METHODS

Family authority type	Arbitrary method		Intensity method	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Democratic	433	23.4	1,366	73.7
Intermediate	933	50.3	324	17.5
Authoritarian	488	26.3	164	8.8
All	1,854	100.0	1,854	100.0

score of 2; "Usually" or "Seldom," a score of 1; and "Sometimes," a score of 0. Second, the intensity function was determined by plotting intensity scores against content or scale scores. The results are displayed in Table 1.

The frequency which is underlined in each column of Table 1 corresponds to the position of the median intensity for that column. If the pure intrinsic intensity were being measured by the above process, there would be no scatter about the medians at all. Intensity would be a perfect U- or J-shaped function.¹⁰ But despite the presence of error, the scattergram indicates that a J-shaped curve was obtained in the present case. The approximate shape of the intensity function can be ascertained from the shape of the curve along which the columnar medians lie. The curve descends from the right (or more democratic scale scores), reaches its low point in the column containing Scale Score 2, and then rises again in the two intervals to the left. The column containing Content Score 2 is the approximate interval containing the zero-point of the attitude. Seniors to the left of this interval are said to perceive their homes as being authoritarian; seniors to the right are said to perceive them as democratic. Seniors included in the number 2 interval are not divided into democratic and authoritarian types, but are said to have an intermediate attitude.

In earlier research with the intensity function, it has been indicated that this same intensity curve would have been derived each time an intensity analysis was conducted, even though other questions were used. The only qualification is that the other questions must have come from the same universe of content—i.e., they must be scalable with the present questions.¹¹

A comparison of the proportions of the sample included in each of the three family authority types before and after the intensity analysis was made revealed that the arbitrary method used by Stone and Landis overestimated the number of seniors who rated their homes as authoritarian and intermediate, and underestimated those who rated them as democratic (Table 2). The fact that Stone and Landis did not use intensity analysis in their earlier study probably decreased the accuracy of their findings and the ability of the scale to make distinctions among individuals.

The increased efficiency of the scale after intensity analysis is demonstrated in Table 3. Responses of the seniors to certain questions not included in the scale but believed to be related to parental authority patterns were compared with the categorization of the respondents' families as determined by each of the two scale methods. Students from homes categorized as democratic, either by the arbitrary or the intensity method, were significantly more inclined than those from homes classed as authoritarian to rank their homes as democratic, to talk problems over with both parents, and to state that their parents feel that they are capable of making decisions for themselves. But for each question and both sexes the relationship is stronger for the authority types determined by intensity analysis.

When a student rates the authority pattern of his home or his question responses are used to categorize his family as "authoritarian," "intermediate," or "democratic," there is no assurance that this accurately describes his home as it really is. Obviously the present scale measures only the child's perception of family authority. However, this need not greatly detract from the usefulness of the scale. There is considerable evidence that people react to a situation not in terms of "reality" but in terms of the meaning that it holds for

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

TABLE 3. MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR FAMILIES, COMPARED WITH FAMILY AUTHORITY TYPE AS DETERMINED BY ARBITRARY AND INTENSITY ANALYSIS METHODS

Question, and sex of respondent	Measures of relationship between question responses and:			
	Authority types determined by arbitrary method		Authority types determined by intensity analysis	
	X^{**}	\bar{C}	X^{**}	\bar{C}
1. Considering all aspects of your family life, how democratic is the management of your family by your parents?				
Males	27.253	.21	67.897	.33
Females	44.274	.26	53.861	.28
2. Do your parents think you have the ability to make your own decisions?				
Males	62.723	.31	97.261	.38
Females	46.294	.26	75.276	.33
3. If you had a problem, would you talk it over with your mother?				
Males	31.486	.23	47.969	.28
Females	15.889	.16	63.964	.31
4. If you had a problem, would you talk it over with your father?				
Males	49.254	.29	71.992	.34
Females	39.585	.26	39.979	.26

* X^2 needed for significance at the 1-per-cent level is 13.277.

them.¹² Hence, if a child perceives his home as authoritarian, that perception helps to determine his reaction to it.

SUMMARY

This study has indicated: (1) that the Stone-Landis scale may or may not represent the whole universe of adolescent atti-

tudes indicating perceptions of family authority patterns; (2) that the items are scalable for a sample different from the one on which the scale was developed; and (3) that the scale can be made more efficient by using intensity analysis as an empirical means of distinguishing among homes perceived as authoritarian, intermediate, and democratic. With the addition of intensity analysis, the Stone-Landis scale may have future value in measuring adolescent perception of family authority patterns, especially in survey-type studies.

¹² Carl E. Rogers, *Client-Centered Therapy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951), *passim*; Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952), chaps. ix-x.

A SUGGESTED FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR THE ANALYSIS OF RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

A Report of the Subcommittee on Changing Social Relationships,
North Central Rural Sociology Committee*

Rural life in America has changed so greatly during the last half-century that even students of rural social organization have been unable to understand adequately the changes taking place. The rapid development of agricultural and industrial technology, the revolution in communication—especially mass communications, the migration of large segments of the population, the fusing of rural and urban in the fringe and suburban areas, the proliferation of action agencies and other formal groups and their programs, the extension of central government influences, and the reshuffling of trade and service areas have all had far-reaching influences on the web of life in rural society.

Fundamental questions are being asked about these changes by both social scientists and professional and lay leaders working with rural people—such questions as:

1. What are the common and what are the unique networks of social relationships in the wide range of contemporary rural situations, ranging from the isolated mountain-hollow neighborhood to the suburban fringe?
2. Are certain points or parts of the total network of social relationships more crucial than others in the solution of particular research or applied problems? If so, how do we discover them? Are there points in the structure that are more responsive to, or resistant to, particular kinds of social change? How are the more obvious technological and demographic changes related to changes in social relationships?
3. What value do people attach to these networks of social relationships? What roles do these values play in facilitating or impeding (retarding or blocking) specific social changes?

Answers to questions such as these would suggest important research hypotheses about the nature of social change. At the

same time, the answers could be of very practical use to persons concerned with the development of more effective programs aimed at the improvement of agriculture and rural life. The answers should create an awareness of the great variations in rural life situations and the continuing emergence of new and different networks of social relationship, and should further the knowledge of how existing social relationships and value orientations may be used to implement particular programs.¹

The lack of some of the information required for answering the above questions is due partly to a paucity of personnel and other resources, and partly to the nature of past research. The now classical ecological study by C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of a Rural Community*,² set a pattern for the analysis of rural social organization which has been followed with too little deviation. An occasional analysis of social class and the cataloguing of special-interest groups have supplemented the ecological data, as has the study of social participation, largely at the descriptive level and with findings couched in terms of characteristics of individuals.

In any science, new methods and new approaches are constantly being evolved in the unending task of seeking new knowledge. From a variety of sources a number of methodological suggestions have emerged, in recent years, which the committee believes make possible a more comprehensive and meaningful analysis of the social organization of rural society. No attempt is made to trace to their origins the ideas incorporated in the outline presented here. Suffice it to say that the committee members are aware that the ideas are not originally theirs, although the particular combination may be.

Assuming that the most fruitful research results would come from first developing a middle-range (as defined by Merton) conceptual scheme and then proceeding to the development of methodology and the collection of data, the committee concentrated

*Ward W. Bauder, Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, AMS—USDA, and chairman of the committee, had principal responsibility for writing the report. Committee members most directly responsible for the report were Harold Smith, Mount Union College; George Reel, Iowa State College; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Charles Lively, University of Missouri; and Christopher Sower, Michigan State University. Others who have served on the committee and contributed to the report are Carl C. Taylor, William Sewell, and Wade Andrews.

¹It was the awareness of deficiencies in our knowledge of rural social organization that was responsible for the creation of the present subcommittee, which was charged with the task of defining some researchable problems for the North Central Region.

²Wisconsin AES Research Bull. 34 (Madison, 1915).

its efforts on the first step. The outline below is the result. There are still many methodological problems to solve, and the scheme has not yet been put to the test of a full-scale research project. However, a great deal of thought and discussion have gone into it, and it is hoped that others will study it and take the opportunity to offer constructive criticism or apply it to empirical data.

Networks of social relationship denote a complex system—or series of systems—of interrelationship between persons and groups. An obvious first problem is to define, within the complex network of relationship, a unit that may be found in any community, and that is amenable to research needs. The concept "social system," as used by Loomis and others, appeared to be the closest approximation to this within the knowledge of the subcommittee.³

Most of the committee discussion, and the classification that follows, was based on the primary assumption that significant networks of social relationships consist of a multiplicity of related and overlapping social systems. A large formal organization—for example, the P.T.A.—is usually composed of one or more subsystems and/or aggregates with different value orientations or ideologies. These will need to be analyzed in order to understand the structure and functioning of the larger organization. Certain research situations may require a detailed analysis of membership roles in order to understand fully the subsystem.

It is assumed that social systems can be treated as discrete for the purpose of classification and can be described and analyzed in terms of a series of dimensions of variation that will reflect not only their structural variations, but also variation in functional relationships.

The following dimensions of variation may be used to analyze social relationships in any social system, whether it be an informal friendship or clique group, a formally organized special-interest group, a locality group, or an institutionalized group like a family, school, or church. It should be emphasized that in the analysis of any complex social system, such as a locality group, an institutionalized organization, or even a very large special-interest association, one will probably need to limit his attention to relevant or significant patterns of relationship for his particular research

objective. "Ideal type" concepts (hypothetical opposites on a continuum) have been utilized where possible in describing dimensions of variation.

1. Nature of the structuring of relationships within the social system:
 - a. Formal vs. informal (degree to which roles and duties are written or recorded).
 - b. Prescribed patterns vs. permissive spontaneous interactions (degree to which patterns of interactions are defined in any way).
 - c. Regularity vs. irregularity (degree of consistency or uniformity over time).
 - d. Degree to which formal or public patterns correspond to informal or private interaction patterns (degree to which actual relationships conform to relationships as perceived by membership as a whole or by those outside the group).
2. Membership scope and basis for membership:
 - a. Inclusive vs. exclusive.
 - b. Nature of restrictions on membership—explicit vs. implicit.
 - c. Basis of inclusion or exclusion:
 - (1) Achieved or achievable characteristics such as prestige, morals, occupation; special resources or skills such as time, subject-matter knowledge, reciprocal obligations, human-relation skills.
 - (2) Ascribed characteristics such as age, sex, and nationality.
3. Group objective or goal:
 - a. Value orientation or institutional classification (according to general objectives, such as education, religion, government, recreation, etc.).
 - b. Limited and specific vs. general and diffuse.
 - c. Single vs. multiple.
 - d. Manifest vs. latent (stated or apparent objectives vs. hidden objectives, latent objectives which are or become dysfunctional).
 - e. Short-term vs. long-term (immediate, intermediate, and long-time; do they exist for various stages in time?).
 - f. Integration of objectives (interrelatedness and consistency).
 - g. Degree of internal consensus on objectives (agreement among members on objectives).
 - h. Orientation within group and outside group (Is orientation to serve only group members, specific categories outside group, community, parent organizations, etc.?).
 - i. Flexibility (How easily are goals

³ The subcommittee began by developing the concept "social unit." The definition agreed upon was practically synonymous with that of social system; hence, the more familiar term was employed.

- changed to meet changing conditions?).
- j. How realistic are goals in terms of group potential (possibility of attaining goals with available resources, physical and social)?
 4. Allocation of authority and distribution of power and influence—leadership:⁴
 - a. Centralization vs. dispersion of authority.
 - b. Specific or general (one leader or small group of leaders for all situations or types of activities, or different leaders for different interest areas and different leaders by type of leadership, such as to organize, represent, advise, etc.).
 - c. Assigned or unassigned (elected or appointed vs. spontaneous or voluntary).
 - d. Basis for power, authority, or prestige (value placed on age, education, income, tradition, reciprocal obligation, etc.).
 5. Claim of the social system on its members and subgroups:
 - a. Basis of claim:
 - (1) Member characteristics (nationality, age, status, occupation, sex, etc.).
 - (2) Type of membership (honorary vs. dues-paying, participating vs. nonparticipating, active vs. associate, etc.).
 - (3) Extent of the members' identification with the social system.
 - (4) Commitment (pledge or vows, legal contract, etc.).
 - b. Type of claim (strength or degree of claim—pay dues, attend meetings, participate actively, etc.).
 - c. Ways of insuring claims:
 - (1) Rewards (status, awards, etc.).
 - (2) Penalties (ridicule, rejection, sanctions, fines, etc.).
 6. Relationship to other social systems:
 - a. Correspondence between the systems—self-imagery or definition of its role by members and definition of its role by other systems or individuals.
 - b. Overlapping membership:
 - (1) Priority claims on loyalty and resources of members.
 - (2) Overlapping leadership.
 - c. Patterns of relationship to other social systems:
 - (1) Number and types of activities in which there is cooperation, and degree of cooperation.
 - (2) Power, prestige, and work relationships—rights of initiation and sanction.
 - (3) Affiliation (nature, type, services provided, lines of communication, and authority, etc.).
 7. Territoriality:
 - a. Spatial boundaries of the social system.
 - b. Symbolic significance of geographic location (Does the geographic location have a significant meaning to the group and its members?).
 - c. Importance of territory or geography in determining membership.
 - d. Factor of space or distance and distribution in achieving or hindering effective operation.
 - e. Membership location within boundary (distribution and density of members).
 - f. Leadership location (within special boundaries of unit).
 8. Communication—within unit and with other social systems:
 - a. Methods or media (primary face-to-face contacts or secondary contacts—house organs, formal meetings, television, etc.).
 - b. Amount.
 - c. Intensity (impact, application of social pressure, repetition, etc.).
 - d. One-way or two-way flow.

It is anticipated that this outline will have two major uses: first, in reexamining some of the vast amount of data already accumulated, and second, in planning future research. It is not a final product, but rather an initial attempt to design a conceptual framework for further analyzing existing research data and for facilitating the planning of future research. Through testing of the usefulness of the categories, the subcommittee hopes that the outline can be further refined. In its present form, it represents an attempt to facilitate the development of hypotheses at the testable level, rather than a final or perfect conceptual design.

Aside from its usefulness in research, the outline should be useful in resident and extension teaching, by serving as a guide for the analysis of social systems. It may also be of help to action people as a diagnostic tool for the analysis of rural social systems, thus providing the basis for more efficient social action programs.

⁴The concept *role* is not used explicitly in the outline, because it is assumed that the social system constitutes the primary object of this scheme. Whereas role terminology is sometimes used in describing social systems, it tends to focus attention on the individual members of a social system rather than on the system *per se*.

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

EXTENSION EVALUATION IN EUROPE

by Howard W. Beer[†]

Among the current efforts to increase the effectiveness of agricultural advisory work in Europe is a project of the European Productivity Agency (a directorate in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation) in the evaluation of agricultural advisory methods and aids. It is of interest that the discipline of rural sociology was invited to assist in the planning and execution of this pioneering enterprise, which resulted in the initiation, in 1956, of evaluation studies in fourteen European countries.

The basic point of view within which the projects in the several countries were undertaken was set forth in a working memorandum prepared in the secretariat of the EPA, and is here reviewed briefly because of its applicability to similar work elsewhere than in Europe.

In agricultural advisory services there is increasing interest in methods of assessing the effectiveness of the work, as a means to its improvement. Rather than merely trying to find ways of improving the depth and efficiency of present activities, advisory services are also looking for ways of extending the individual adviser's influence as an alternative means of meeting the ever-growing demand for advice which, for one reason or another, can not always be met by an increase in the number of advisers. Interest in more effective program planning is also increasing; this can not be satisfactorily established except on the basis of adequate knowledge of the effectiveness of present methods. These are some of the considerations which have led advisory services to inquire about what has come to be known as *evaluation*.

The term *evaluation* is interpreted in many ways and has been applied to varied activities. Its reference in the present projects in Europe is limited to the measuring of progress in attaining objectives in a particular advisory activity and balancing the value of this progress against the effort involved in achieving it. Such an

application of the term involves an internal study by and for the benefit of the advisory service concerned. This implies that, while following recognized procedures, the evaluation method must fit the design of the associated advisory activity.

In this application of evaluation, the adviser—if possible, from the beginning of the advisory activity being evaluated—records all data connected with the results of his work including, as far as possible, the effort expended on it. Where necessary, he can supplement those data which are normally available with material specially collected. He uses the total data thus at his disposal to determine the balance between efforts and results. This helps him to assess and modify his own work from time to time.

The most successful evaluation activities in agricultural advisory work have been those which were planned along with the program or project to be evaluated. This has two major advantages: since the keeping of necessary records is possible at all stages, the redirection of the program can occur from the interpretation of the data on the developing activity. A decision to evaluate made after a project has been completed is better than none, but it is likely to suffer from lack of necessary information. If evaluation is undertaken after rather than during the advisory activity, it is necessary to assemble suitable records of past activities and to rely largely on them.

Thus, evaluation is not a standardized technique occurring in a fixed sequence of operations. A particular instance of evaluation may or may not involve a questionnaire to be sent by mail; it may or may not involve a series of interviews; it may or may not require the planning of a simple survey; it may or may not involve the participation of local farmers.

In a particular evaluation effort, the most active participants are the advisers, their fellow workers, and, to whatever extent may be possible, the farmers who are most immediately concerned with the outcome of the work being assessed. It is clear, therefore, that the persons directly involved in the advisory work select the problem for evaluation, devise the procedure, accomplish the analysis, make the interpretation, and apply the findings. Naturally they will need a certain amount of assistance from their supervisors, fellow workers, or farmers, as well as any technical help on pro-

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¹ "Agricultural advisory work" is the term usually applied to those services in Europe which most closely approximate agricultural extension as conducted in the United States. For convenience, the reader may think of an "adviser" as an "extension worker."

cedures (as in survey methods or interview techniques) as may be necessary to make the evaluation as sound and objective as possible.

Personal "on-the-spot" assistance to advisers who want to undertake evaluation studies at the present time is desirable, among other reasons, because of a lack of records of successful evaluation conducted at the local level. These local evaluations provide the most successful examples; but, being mainly for local application, they result in temporary documentation, later available (if at all) only in fragmentary form; and they are absorbed into revised advisory activity. Hence, that which can be seen in evaluation literature is a record more of research than of evaluation. That which cannot be seen is the much larger mass of evaluative effort which, to some extent, is being expressed in action but which needs wider publicity, examination, and application.

Deliberately excluded from the present project in Europe are appraisals of such complex matters as the broad policies, over-all costs and structure, organization, and efficiency of the total advisory program in the local, regional, or national area. These represent special classes of evaluational problems and will usually, in the last analysis, more strictly involve the yardstick of economic and/or social effect on the farm and in the community. Also excluded from the present study is extension research, which represents a more advanced stage, involving more intensive study over a longer period of time. As the work of the agricultural advisory services develops, it will be necessary to have the benefit of research concerning methods and organization, and it will be essential to stimulate such research. Experience gained in the present evaluation studies is expected to indicate the direction in which such expansion might usefully be encouraged in the future. Even after programs of general or broad-scaled evaluation and of extension research have achieved some prominence, however, there remains a continuous need for the local-level evaluation of the specific activity in a particular locality by those persons most directly concerned.

The responsible advisory staff in each interested country have themselves selected localities in which it is thought that personnel and programs are appropriate to enable them to initiate evaluation studies. They have also selected existing or, preferably, *proposed* activities, which are on the one hand significant enough to make eval-

uation economically desirable, and on the other hand concrete enough and simple enough in objectives and methods to make small-scale exercises in evaluation both feasible and potentially useful.

Through the planning of procedures on the spot by the local advisers and others available to counsel with them, the projects therefore proceed approximately along the following lines:

1. Selecting activities to be evaluated.
2. Selecting locality or localities.
3. Describing the activity (as to advisory situation, advisory objectives, and advisory methods).
4. Formulating the purposes of the evaluation study.
5. Delimiting the population or area to be covered by the study.
6. Outlining the facts needed.
7. Planning ways of obtaining the necessary facts.
8. Collecting the facts.
9. Tabulating the data.
10. Analyzing and interpreting the data.
11. Applying the findings.

Steps 1 through 4 can be taken by any agricultural adviser without help. Steps 5 and 6 will require little if any help. Steps 7 through 10, however, are such that certain technical suggestions may be useful to advisers. Step 11 is an essential part of an evaluation and is the responsibility of the agricultural adviser with the help of his fellow workers, his supervisors, and, if at all possible, local farmers.

The ultimate purpose of the projects in the European countries is to develop improved methods and techniques of conducting advisory work. The last step is the most important aspect of evaluation because it points the way to revision and improvement of advisory activities as well as to desirable follow-up in the evaluation sphere. In this connection, negative results are as important as positive ones. Moreover, the findings of evaluation studies are a necessary beginning for rational and coordinated program planning at national, regional, and local levels—a basic requirement for further improvement of agricultural advisory work. Unless the last step is carried through, and followed up, by the local adviser and by the advisory service concerned, the evaluation effort will have been a mere academic exercise—of interest only to its operators and without real value to the community.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.

Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization. By Robert Redfield. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. vii + 163. \$3.50.

This slim but stimulating volume, which contains four lectures given by Robert Redfield at Swarthmore College, in 1955, shows the author's most recent thoughts on the nature of peasant society. The first lecture, "Anthropology and the Primitive Community," traces the shift in emphasis by the anthropologist from the primitive society to the larger, more complex societies while retaining his tendency to view societies as "wholes." The second lecture, "Peasantry: Part-Societies," is concerned with the peasant community's social relations with the larger society of which it is a part. The third lecture, "The Social Organization of Tradition," views the peasant community and the larger society in terms of culture or tradition; while the fourth lecture, "The Peasant View of the Good Life," is an effort at charting the values which peasants generally are said to hold.

Because rural sociologists share with many social anthropologists an interest in peasants, it may be profitable to summarize some of Redfield's characterizations of peasant society.

[Peasant society is considered] a type or class loosely defined, a focus of attention rather than a box with a lid. I do not think that any one definition of peasant society arises inevitably from the facts (p. 25).

We are looking at rural people in old civilizations, those rural people who control and cultivate their land for subsistence and as a part of a traditional way of life and who look to and are influenced by gentry or townspeople whose way of life is like theirs but in a more civilized form (p. 31).

Redfield raises the question (p. 37): "Considering a peasant community as a system of social relations, as social structure, how shall we describe its relations with the world outside of that community?" Borrowing the terms Barnes used in his study of rural Norway, Redfield describes three kinds of "fields" or systems which relate a peasant community to the larger society:

... the hierarchy of territorially based groups; the more or less independent

economic fields of activity; and the country-wide networks of relationship. . . . One can think of them as three ways in which the primitive isolate is exceeded or in which it breaks down, is pulled apart and extended over the social landscape (pp. 57-58).

In peasant societies we see a relatively stable and very roughly typical adjustment between local and national or feudal life, a developed larger social system in which there are two cultures within one culture, one social system composed of upper and lower halves. The cultural relations between the two halves are to be emphasized (p. 65).

To see these cultural relations is necessary because

The culture of a peasant community . . . is not autonomous. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilization of which it is a part. As the peasant society is a half-society, so the peasant culture is a half-culture. . . . First, we discover that to maintain itself peasant culture requires continual communication to the local community of thought originating outside of it. . . . the peasant culture cannot be fully understood from what goes on in the minds of the villagers alone. Second, . . . the peasant culture has an evident history; . . . it is a history of the civilization of which the village culture is one local expression (pp. 68-69).

And at this point Redfield makes use of the word *civilization* to connote this compound culture. He then discusses the roles of "the great tradition" and "the little tradition":

In a civilization there is a great tradition of the reflective few, and there is a little tradition of the largely unreflective many. The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities. The tradition of the philosopher, theologian, and literary man is a tradition consciously cultivated and handed down; that of the little people is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement (p. 70).

The two traditions are interdependent (p. 71).

[They] are not distinguishable in very isolated tribes or bands (p. 72).

In fact, societies can be arranged into a series according to the degree to which a distinguishable great tradition is or was present. Furthermore, the diachronic as well as the synchronic approach must be used in analyzing the connection between great and little traditions, between the larger society and the peasant community. All relations (such as between Muslim teacher and pupil) that are

... of importance in bringing about the communication of great tradition to the peasant or that, perhaps without anyone's intention, cause the peasant tradition to affect the doctrine of the learned—constitute the social structure of the culture, the structure of tradition. From this point of view a civilization is an organization of specialists, of kinds of role-occupiers in characteristic relations to one another and to lay people and performing characteristic functions concerned with the transmission of tradition (pp. 101-102).

He distinguishes (p. 102) between "social organization" ("the way that people put together elements of action so as to get done something they want done") and "social structure" ("a persisting general character, a 'pattern' of typical relationships . . .").

In the concluding lecture ("The Peasant View of the Good Life"), Redfield raises the question of a common definition of the good life by peasantries everywhere. He had been struck by similarities in viewpoints from many parts of the world and tried to formulate these. When this formulation was reviewed by others who had likewise studied peasants, certain dissimilarities were noted. In the light of this reaction, Redfield concludes:

The effect of the discussion, as far as it has gone, seems to me to intensify the impression that the circumstances of peasantry tend to bring about in such peoples views of life that have some similarity: that the view of life of one peasant people will be found to have resemblances to that of some others, but not always at the same points of resemblance. Further, I believe that as terms come to be better defined and as facts are more sharply reported and brought more definitely to bear on more restricted questions, some of these points of resemblance or difference will be provided with explanations, with statements of particular circumstance which account for them. In short, this excursion into problems of peasantry as a human type, an attitude toward the universe, seems to me to be one of the consequences of that enlargement of the anthropological subject matter which is

the subject of these four chapters (p. 111).

But Redfield does propose a modified statement of peasant values: "an intense attachment to native soil; a reverent disposition toward habitat and ancestral ways; a restraint on individual self-seeking in favor of family and community; a certain suspiciousness, mixed with appreciation, of town life; a sober and earthy ethic" (p. 140).

The chief contribution of this book lies not only in the picture it gives of a social anthropology growing toward a common ground with rural sociology, but also in the way it helps clarify the concept "peasant" and "peasant society." Whether one agrees or disagrees with every point that Redfield makes, one certainly has a deeper understanding of peasant life for having read the book.

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Social Responsibility in Farm Leadership: An Analysis of Farm Problems and Farm Leadership in Action. By Walter W. Wilcox. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Pp. xi + 194. \$3.00.

This book is one in a series on ethics and economic life originated by a Study Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, subsequently merged in the National Council of Churches. The study was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, but the author was under no supervisory control from either the Foundation or the National Council of Churches. Hence, the contents are not the official views of either organization.

The study accepts as the basic ethical standard of our society the concept of equity, or sense of "fairness or evenhanded impartiality." Other ethical standards are also recognized as significant and suggested as points of reference in the determination of acceptable behavior, including honesty, truth, productivity; and for farmers in particular, neighborliness, sense of stewardship of resources, kindness to animals, virtues of productive work, full utilization of resources, and individual and family responsibility for their own welfare with minimum assistance or regulation by government.

The study is divided into two major parts: (1) the setting, which is concerned with consideration of equity standards and agricultural problems, the solutions to which involve the application of equity considerations; and (2) farm leadership in

action, which is concerned with the organized efforts of farmers for dealing with their social and economic problems. It is in these organized efforts, particularly in the farm leaders involved, that ethical principles find their embodiment.

The study contains an excellent, brief presentation of basic agricultural problems of the nation, including differential nature of agriculture, price stabilization, disposal of surpluses abroad, low-income problem in agriculture, hired farm workers, migratory workers, land tenure, credit, and conservation. The objective analysis given to each of these problems is commendable. Of particular interest are the author's conclusions regarding price stabilization, "... price stabilization measures as they have been administered to date have stabilized farm prices and incomes to a limited extent and have had a small net stabilizing influence on the economy. In an over-all sense they have contributed to increased farm output." Nevertheless, as the author points out, there is widespread disagreement on various aspects of price stabilization; hence, there is a real need for more information relating to probable effects of the price-support program.

Understanding *why* rather than criticizing of farm leaders for lack of concern or appreciation of such problems as low-income farmers, hired farm workers, migrant workers, and land tenure is the author's characteristic approach to the ethical problem—an approach that in itself reveals a sensitiveness to ethical principle that well qualifies him for his task.

Broadly, but with adequately noted exceptions, the study shows fairly conclusively that the three major farmer organizations—American Farm Bureau Federation, Grange, and Farmers' Union—in this order fall on the conservative-liberal continuum. The basic differences of the three organizations, however, are over the nature of remedial programs that are desirable, whereas there is considerable agreement on the disadvantaged position of farmers in our modern industrial society and, hence, on the need for special governmental price- and income-stabilizing programs.

Studies by social scientists in the executive branch of government have been an important factor in bringing to light the problems of low-income farmers, small farmers, tenants, and beginning farmers. In view of the general tendency to neglect these problems, the author thinks, "Leaders in the executive branch of government have an opportunity to redress this imbalance somewhat. By the studies they au-

thorize and by the publicity given to the results of studies in this area, they can do much to make other groups in society aware of the situation that exists."

In his concluding observations, the author states a significant ethical principle for farm leaders when he writes, "Farm leadership at its best tries to keep farm groups aware of the relation of their problems, policies, and goals to the interest of society as a whole. For a democratic society will not long respect the claims of a merely self-seeking group."

This little volume is a commendable effort to combine objective analysis with ethical values. It effectively stays on a rational, dispassionate key. Accusations and finger-pointing are absent. For study groups interested in agricultural policy within the frame of reference of the good society, it should provide a very useful textbook.

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Community Organization: Action and Inaction. By Floyd Hunter, Ruth Connor Schaffer, and Cecil G. Sheps. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956. Pp. xv + 268. \$5.00.

Without more information as to what the researchers initially had in mind, it is difficult to evaluate the importance of this study conducted by an interdisciplinary team from the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. A superficial, and likely erroneous, impression that might be gained from the somewhat disjointed presentation of findings is that the team members never quite agreed on what they were studying—a lamentable but not infrequent occurrence in interdisciplinary projects. Closer inspection suggests, however, that the apparent lack of coordination may have stemmed from factors of considerably greater consequence.

The unfortunate title selected for the book is misleading both as to scope and content. Essentially, the book is a report of a single research project which had as its general objective the recording and analysis of the processes of social action as the community of Salem, Massachusetts, undertook and carried out a self-survey of its health problems and facilities. The project was one of three such studies sponsored by the Health Information Foundation and conducted in different sections of the country. One of the other two studies

has been published as *The Talladega Story*, by Solon T. Kimball and Marion Pearsall. The other study, undertaken by a team from Michigan State University, has not yet been published.

Although the possibility of disparate research objectives cannot be completely eliminated, the authors of this report offer considerable evidence of careful planning before field operations were undertaken, which would suggest that they were reasonably clear as to their objectives. Their plan of procedure was to study first the general structure of the community social system, with particular emphasis on stratification and the power structure. Then, as the self-survey operation developed, the actions of particular individuals of previously identified status and the reactions of various social segments would be closely observed and analyzed. Even from a position of hindsight, such a plan appears both straightforward and reasonably logical. Yet the almost complete divorce of the analysis of community structure and the description of the self-survey action in the report bears ample witness that the plan did not work. The authors themselves are frank to admit that precious few of the identified "power leaders" ever became involved in the survey.

The reasons for this disconcerting development are worthy of more attention than they receive in the report. Apparently the authors believe that the survey operation itself was not of sufficient moment to attract the attention of the top leaders or of many others in the community. Most of the action, including the decision making, was carried out by a handful of health and welfare professionals. In short, it was a minor project relegated to minor leaders. But there are at least two other possibilities that should not be overlooked. First, it is quite possible that the interview and rating method of identifying leaders tends to select only certain types of individuals of high "leadership visibility." Second, the theory implicit in this and earlier power structure studies of how the power structure actually functions may be grossly inadequate. In fact, the whole concept of "power structure" may be subject to considerable question. Certainly there is a great need for further empirical study of the roles of so-called "power leaders" in specific action programs.

If only for the questions it raises, the study makes a contribution to the literature in the field. But it also has its positive merits. It is readable, unpretentious (except for the title), and often insightful. Above

all, to a literature that is sated with glossy, pseudo-documentary accounts attributing panacean qualities to "community organization," Hunter, Schaffer, and Sheps have brought a fresh and welcome air of authenticity.

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Personality in a Communal Society. By Bert Kaplan and Thomas F. A. Plaut. Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Publications, 1956. Pp. xi + 116. \$3.25.

This is an analysis of the mental health of a sample of personalities in Hutterite communities of the United States and Canada. The data were collected during the mid-forties, with the help of a grant of money from the National Institute of Mental Health. The Hutterites, numbering about 9,000, live in 90 colonies in Alberta and Manitoba, and in Montana and South Dakota.

Joseph W. Eaton, a sociologist, organized a research team consisting of a psychiatrist, a sociologist, and two psychologists. The investigation was along two lines. One was to determine the prevalence of psychosis and other forms of psychopathology; the findings were published as *Culture and Mental Disorders*, by Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955). The second, this study, is a "description and analysis of the personalities of a large sample of more or less 'normal' Hutterites."

The first study showed a prevalence of mental illness among Hutterites higher than expected, but not so high as in some other communities where information was available on the total mental health situation in the community. The data also showed a "predominance of manic depressive reactions over schizophrenic ones," and the classic Kraepelinian pattern was absent. A considerable number of the manic cases were identified as of the "anfechtung" kind by the Hutterites themselves.

The problem remained to describe the typical personality types that prevailed in the typical Hutterite community, and to relate these to the prevalence and type of mental disturbances, or conditions giving rise to or associated with such disturbances. To accomplish this, chief reliance was placed on two tests, namely: (1) the Murray Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and (2) an Adapted Sentence Completion Test. The results were described in terms of the personality scheme set forth by Henry A. Murray.

The study suffers from unrepresentativeness of sampling in certain respects, and from small numbers. These shortcomings are specified in the study. The analysis, based on limited data, is detailed and infinitely qualified. The conclusions are tentative and well hedged. The major conclusion appears to be that "the Hutterites have not, over the last four centuries, developed personality characteristics which harmonize with the social pattern to such an extent that mental health problems are either minimal or completely eliminated."

This reviewer met the team when they first appeared for their study. Without doubt the team members tried their best to get into the communities and to obtain the best possible sample and most unbiased responses. The tragedy about much of psychology and psychiatry is that there is such a decided effort to be "test tube objective" in the natural-science sense that the results are generally less useful than was hoped. This has its humorous aspects when it is seen that even such a staid science as physics has its embarrassing moments when once-fundamental truths become mere assumptions.

Both studies, especially the one here under review, might have been far more effective and complete, and might have made a real contribution, if emphasis had been placed on the case work method and the resident researcher—one who lived with the community for a longer time. There is something in the life and habit of these people, and their island-like residence in the national culture, that must be discovered, identified, and described more effectively than has yet been done if sociologists and social psychologists are to make their best contribution to the understanding of social control, social sanction, and social change in a social system, and as between competing social systems.

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Town and Country in Brazil. By Marvin Harris. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. Pp. x + 302. \$4.50.

This detailed study of a small community in the state of Bahia is Number 37 in Columbia University's "Contributions to Anthropology." The methods used are those of the cultural anthropologist, modified to some degree by the frames of reference and methods of the economist and sociologist.

The author and three Brazilian students lived for a year in the little town and visited occasionally six agricultural villages located in close proximity to it. The appropriate techniques for determining whether these villages formed part of the community were not applied. The observers participated in the social activities of the community, conversed with everyone "from the mayor and the school teachers to the wood carriers and prostitutes." Eventually some statistical surveys were attempted.

The seven chapters into which the book is divided have the following titles: "Setting," "Economics," "Class and Race," "The Family and the Individual," "Government and Politics," "Religion," and "Folk Belief." Within each chapter the reader's attention is directed rapidly from one topic to another, as is evidenced by the titles of the subdivisions of the chapter on economics: occupational specialization, metalcraft, leathercraft, entrepreneurs, distribution, craft interdependence, economic individualism, stores, gold mining, agriculture, large farms, agriculture in the villages, and emigration (i.e., the exodus from the community to other parts of Brazil). The subdivisions of the chapter "The Family and the Individual" are as follows: family cohesion, ritual kinship, life cycle, married life, and urban discontents. The section on "married life" consists of 18 paragraphs, divided topically as follows: prostitution, 6; frigidity in women, 2; sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, 2; women's intense cravings and dislikes during pregnancy, 2; the male's control of financial affairs, 2; the employment of women, 1; and the retiring role of the female, 3.

The inhabitants of Minas Velhas, or Old Mines, are proud of the urban and citified nature of their community, and the author, perhaps with "his tongue in his cheek," makes this the principal point at issue in the volume. The population of the "city" in 1950 was 1,500; the heads of 17 per cent of its households gained their livelihood directly from agricultural pursuits; the water for domestic purposes came from the small stream, which also served the women as a laundry; there is no high school in the community; and, in the author's own words, as he describes early morning activities in the community, "simultaneously men are out milking the cows in a few small corrals within the city" (p. 39).

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Man, Culture, and Society. Edited by Harry L. Shapiro. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xii + 380. 13 plates. \$7.50.

This introduction to anthropology is an ambitious undertaking. In relatively brief compass, seventeen experts attempt not only to present something of the viewpoint and methods of anthropology but also to cover the origin and development of man, culture, and society. The result is a book for the novice rather than for the scholar. There are few footnotes or suggested further readings. Such topics as totemism, property, and even "the organization of production, distribution, and consumption" in human society receive only a page or two. This is necessarily unsatisfactory for anyone who wants meat on the skeleton.

But the book has been designed as "a kind of basic anthropology for the general reader" and for the beginning student. For this purpose it is excellent and well calculated to whet the appetite. Despite multiple authorship, duplication of subject matter is at a minimum. The writing is clear and largely nontechnical though some sections are reminiscent of an encyclopedia.

Not all of anthropology is covered. Physical anthropology is treated "in passing" and linguistics is represented by one chapter. Main emphasis is placed on cultural anthropology and, secondarily, on archaeology. Sociologists may want to have their own beginning students examine such chapters as those on "Social Groupings," "The Family," "Religion," or "How Human Society Operates." The common interests—and common terminology—of cultural anthropologists and sociologists are apparent in such chapters as these.

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Rural Sociology—The Strategy of Change.

By Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. Pp. xvi + 488. \$6.00.

This book is a variation, not a revision, of the authors' earlier *Rural Social Systems*. The new book concentrates on the problem of securing change in rural social systems and is designed for those who have (or will have) "professional responsibility for changing or improving rural life." It should have a strong appeal for an action-oriented audience, such as those students in intermediate-level rural sociology courses who are preparing themselves for work in other fields. This does not mean

the book is less scholarly; many readers will consider it a better work than *Rural Social Systems*.

The central concept is that of a social system consisting of eight elements: ends or objectives, norms, status-roles, power, social rank, sanctions, facilities, and territoriality. The strategy of social change is studied as the interaction of a "change agent system" with a "target system" in four types of processes: communication, decision making, boundary maintenance, and social-cultural linkage. The last-mentioned process involves the three sub-processes of initiation, legitimation, and execution. A comparison of this conceptual system with the conceptual framework of *Rural Social Systems* reveals that the authors' concept of the social system has been reorganized and that their treatment of social change is an innovation. Another difference in the new book is a lesser reliance on the sponge-type concepts, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

The above conceptual framework is methodically applied throughout the book in chapters dealing with locality groups, the family, informal groups, farming systems, status systems, religious systems, educational systems, governmental systems, farmers' organizations, health and medical care, federal agencies, mass media, and the direction and strategy of change. In addition to the substantive materials, each chapter includes an illustrative case history involving the strategy of change annotated in terms of the conceptual framework.

Despite the many refinements in the theoretical framework and in the expository style, the following observations and suggestions may be made: (1) The reader would be helped if the development of the social system concept were traced historically, showing its relationship to earlier concepts of groups, organizations, and institutions. (2) The student would be helped if the social system were explicitly introduced as a model for ordering and analyzing empirical social phenomena. Parenthetically, it might be noted that Loomis and Beegle's concept of the social system still seems to have more utility as a descriptive tool than as a paradigm for generating hypotheses. (3) The critical reader will feel that some of the traditional material studied in the field of rural sociology is included under the social system rubric in a somewhat forced manner. Ecology and demography tend to be confounded with social systems of interaction. (4) The social psychologist will wish that the ten-

sions between personality systems and role requirements were exploited in the analysis of social change. (5) The logician will point out that the processes of change are not at the same level of abstraction. For example, boundary maintenance is a factor in decision making, and communication is involved in the process of social-cultural linkage.

Let it be understood that the above considerations are of secondary importance. In spite of these reservations, can critics point to any other rural sociology text as closely wedded to contemporary sociological theory or as original and stimulating in its presentation of subject matter?

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The Cokers of Carolina. By George Lee Simpson. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1956. Pp. xvi + 321. \$5.00.

The present volume adds to our growing knowledge of social and cultural change as revealed by the social biography of four generations of a distinguished family and the communities in which they lived in Darlington County, South Carolina. The setting is in the cotton-growing, middle country as it evolved from a plantation economy to a modern agricultural and industrial society.

The author traces family and community influences in making possible the achievements of individual members. The story begins in 1830 when Caleb Coker brought his bride to live in the village of Society Hill, in Darlington County. The couple were challenged by the high level of cultural life found in this small village, and they soon played a leading role in its continued development. The type of leadership is exemplified in the interest of a leading citizen in rotation of crops, use of natural fertilizer, working toward a balanced agriculture, and the establishment of a cotton mill and a cottonseed oil mill. This citizen, however, was two generations ahead of his time, and his ventures in making cloth and cottonseed oil were eventually stopped at Society Hill.

The application of a scientific attitude to the problems of agriculture and industry was an essential element of the Cokers' achievements. This scientific interest was first acquired by Caleb's eldest son James (later called "the Major") who spent a year at Harvard University studying under world-famous scientists. The Major settled at Hartsville; and, under his guidance, his

sons began to develop pedigreed seed for the improvement of farming, and to build industries which would make use of natural resources and employ labor not needed on the farms. The Cokers were first to use southern pine as a source of pulp for making paper and built the first factory for this purpose. Later, they began to make paper cones and tubes for the textile industry.

The Cokers, who were moderates during the 1850's, saw the futility of fighting a war that, even if successful, would not solve the problems of the cotton economy. Once war came, however, they supported the South's cause with all their energies and resources. After the Civil War, they again favored a moderate course, joining the Union Reform Party, which was organized in 1870, in a futile effort to find a middle ground between the extreme radicals and the great number of white people who would not give an inch. In 1886, Captain William Coker was an unsuccessful candidate for governor. He refused the support of Ben Tillman because of certain conditions attached to the offer. With his moderate attitude and knowledge of agriculture, he might have been able to bring about needed reforms without the extreme bitterness with which Tillman's regime was later associated. The Cokers provided a type of leadership, found in many southern communities, that has contributed much to recent progress in the region.

Sociologists, social historians, and general readers will find this volume a rewarding source of information about the South of the present and the roots from which it grew.

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Winthrop College.

The Life and Times of King Cotton. By David L. Cohn. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. iii + 286. \$5.00.

This book tells the story of cotton in America and the manner in which it affected lives of men and events throughout the world. The author commences his analysis with the graduation of Eli W. Whitney from Yale, in 1792. In a narrative fashion, he describes the political, economic, and social conditions related to the development of the cotton economy following the invention of the cotton gin. This includes a description of slavery and the slave trade, plantation life in the South, the role of cotton in the Civil War, the expansion of cotton production, the war-

time relations between the Confederacy and England, the sharecropping system of cotton cultivation which appeared as an aftermath of the Civil War, the growing of cotton on the frontier, the marketing of cotton, the movement of textile mills to the South in recent decades, and the decline of cotton in recent years as a result of the production of synthetic fibers. In his discussions, the author gives intimate detail concerning the manner in which trends in the production of cotton altered the nature of the society and the lives of the people involved. He deals with the masses of the people instead of individuals; and his interpretation is colorful and entertaining. The book is filled with descriptions of many incidents which the author uses to support his analysis. Generally, all of this material provides interesting reading and insight into the manners and modes of living of people during the periods of our national history which are being considered.

The study is narrative in form and is not prepared in the manner of a scientific publication. Although the author quotes profusely from many and varied sources, he does not document the study. This reduces its scientific value because it does not permit the interested researcher to avail himself of the original sources used in the book. Not only are footnotes missing, but also there is no bibliography. These omissions undoubtedly result from the fact that the author is a journalist and not a social scientist.

The reviewer found the book to be interesting and stimulating. Persons who are concerned with the intimate details of the patterns of life of the people during these periods will find this study of value.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- Aging in Industry.* By F. Le Gros Clark and Agnes C. Dunne. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. Pp. x + 146. \$7.50.
- The Agricultural Commodity Programs: Two Decades of Experience.* By Murray R. Benedict and Oscar C. Stine. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1956. Pp. xliii + 510. \$5.00.
- The American Intentional Communities.* By Henrik F. Infield. Glen Gardner, N. J.: Glen Gardner Community Press, 1955. Pp. 118. No price given.
- The American Workers' Fact Book.* By U. S. Department of Labor. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956. Pp. xv + 433. \$1.50.
- Bauerliche Familienbetriebe in Nordrhein-Westfalen.* By Herman Priebe. Herausgegeben von der Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie e. V. Bonn. Beuel-Bonn, W. Bayley, Spring, 1956. No price given.
- Dictionary of Anthropology.* By Charles Winick. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. Pp. vii + 579. \$10.00.
- Home Health Emergencies.* Edited by the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States and Granville W. Larimore, M.D. New York: Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1956. No charge.
- Labor Problems in Communist China (to February 1953).* By Shao-er Ong. Lackland Air Force Base, Tex.: Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center, 1955. Pp. xv + 83. No price given.
- La Vida Rural Uruguaya.* By Daniel D. Vidart. Montevideo: Ministerio de Ganadería y Agricultura Republica Oriental del Uruguay, 1955. Pp. 196. No price given.
- Man and Society.* By Samuel Koenig. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1957. Pp. xi + 339. \$1.45.
- My Minds and I.* By E. V. Crane. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1957. Pp. 269. \$4.00.
- A Natural Science of Society.* By A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957. Pp. xii + 156. \$3.50.
- The Negro in the United States.* (Revised.) By E. Franklin Frazier. New York: Macmillan Co., 1957. Pp. xxxiii + 769. \$6.40.
- Readings in Sociology.* Edited by Alfred M. Lee. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1957. (New printing.) Pp. viii + 439. \$1.75.
- Organized Home Medical Care in New York City.* By the Hospital Council of Greater New York. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. xvi + 538. \$8.00.
- Our Nation's Water Resources—Policies and Politics.* By Ben Moreell. Chicago,

- Ill.: The University of Chicago, 1956. Pp. 226. \$3.50.
- Science and Economic Development: New Patterns of Living.* By Richard L. Meier. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. Pp. xviii + 265. \$6.00.
- Social Psychology.* (Third edition.) By Kimball Young. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956. Pp. x + 632. \$5.75.
- Social Work Year Book, 1957.* Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957. Pp. 752. \$7.50.
- Society and Education.* By Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten. New York: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1957. Pp. xv + 465. \$5.75.
- Sociology in the United States of America.* Edited by Hans L. Zetterberg. Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1956. Pp. 156. \$2.50.
- Wartime "Mass" Campaigns in Communist China: Official Country-Wide "Mass Movements" in Professed Support of the Korean War.* By Wen-hui C. Chen. Lackland Air Force Base, Tex.: Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center, 1955. Pp. xiv + 84. No price given.

BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Louis J. Ducoff*

Participation of Rural Families in Formal Organizations: A Study of Rural Families with School-Age Children in the Purchase Area of Western Kentucky. John R. Christiansen. Kentucky Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 629, Lexington. 18 pp. June 1955.

Informal Social Participation in Five Kentucky Counties. John R. Christiansen. Kentucky Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. 43, Lexington. 11 pp. Dec. 1956.

In the two reports cited above the author has made a marked contribution to our growing knowledge of the social participation of farm persons. In both pieces of research, he has (1) confirmed certain well-established social participation relationships, (2) questioned the universality of otherwise well-established associations, and (3) continued the trend toward the interpretation of basically qualitative data by the use of relatively sophisticated statistical techniques.

Participation of Rural Families in Formal Organizations confirms the relationship of formal participation and variables such as educational attainment, socio-economic status, and possession of communication facilities. Less well-established relationships which are shown for this sample are those of formal participation with family interaction and use of commercial services.

Food for thought is provided by the fact that a number of variables found in other studies to be associated with degree of formal participation are not so related for the Kentucky sample. These include size of household, age of wife, number of years that the family has lived in the community, and principal occupation of the husband.

In addition, the findings on the degree of formal participation by husbands and wives are the converse of those of W. A. Anderson in his studies in New York rural communities. In Kentucky, the husbands are the most active participants; the opposite is true in New York. Such differences may point out the influence of local folkways on family participation. They also may indicate the need to strain the results of social participation studies through the sieve of local culture before interregional comparisons are made.

A contribution to research methodology

is the use of factor analysis to test the interrelationship of variables individually associated with family participation. Two complexes of related variables were resolved by the factor analysis: socio-economic complex and family-interaction complex. The former was found to be moderately associated with family participation; the latter was found not to be related to family participation.

The fact that family interaction was shown to be associated with family participation as a single variable but the family interaction complex was not so associated indicates the diffuseness of causation in social participation. Such complexity may well indicate the imperativeness of conducting social participation research on an interdisciplinary basis.

Informal Social Participation in Five Kentucky Counties is somewhat less representative of the "typical" in social participation research than the bulletin reviewed above. In the introduction, the author clearly and concisely cites the need for such studies in areas of high rural-to-urban migration, as in Kentucky. It is Christiansen's hypothesis that "informal participation provides a means of enhancing social skills and forming attitudes and opinions" (p. 9). Migrants who have experienced a broader social relationship are conceived to adjust better to an urban environment.

The relationship of farm persons' degree of informal participation and the degree of rurality of their residence-area is thoroughly tested. The main findings are that: (1) for informal activities in which farm husbands or wives participate as individuals, the rate is higher in the less rural than in the more rural areas; (2) for those informal activities in which farm families participate as a unit, the tendency for the rate to be higher in the less rural areas is not so well defined; and (3) residents of the most rural areas achieve a higher rate for family-centered activities of a primary, intimate nature, such as families having evenings together.

In addition to rurality of residence, nine other variables were tested to determine their degree of association with informal participation of members of Kentucky farm families. When they were subjected to correlation analysis, it was found that

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

the two factors which best summarized the mutual relationship of all the variables with informal participation were socio-economic position and the family-life-cycle stage.

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Personal and Social Factors Associated with the Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices among Cattlemen.
James H. Copp. Kansas Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 83, Manhattan. 31 pp. Sept. 1956.

In the last ten years a great many studies dealing with the spread and acceptance of recommended farm practices have been conducted by rural sociologists. (See: *How Farm People Accept New Ideas*, North Central Regional Ext. Pub. No. 1, and its bibliographical supplement, *Social Factors in the Adoption of Farm Practices*, Iowa State College.) Copp's research reinforces some of the findings of earlier studies and suggests an approach to studying the psychological and motivational aspects of diffusion.

The study is based upon interviews with 157 beef producers in three contiguous townships in the Flint Hills grazing area of Kansas. The actual study area consisted of a 200-square-mile block of the three townships extending across Wabaunsee County. All cattlemen with five or more head of beef cattle six months of age or older were interviewed. Thus all had one type of enterprise in common (beef cattle) and, since the townships were in the same county, the Agricultural Extension Service "treatment" was held relatively constant. The techniques of correlation and factor analysis were used to build an adoption index based upon 8 of the 21 practices observed.

The objective of this research was not to explain why farmers do or do not adopt a certain practice, but to explain why some farmers adopt a large number of practices and other farmers adopt very few.

The relationship of communication media to the levels of adoption was studied. Farmers who rely on neighbors, the radio, and farm magazines had a lower level of adoption than those using bulletins, the county agent, college-sponsored events, and similar sources of information which require more effort on the part of the farmer. Mass media were found to be less effective in securing widespread adoption after the practice had ceased to be an in-

novation—at later stages in the diffusion process.

An analysis of the relationship of social and economic characteristics of the operator to the adoption of recommended farm practices indicated that nationality, religion, work and residence experience, age, and familial status were not significantly related to the number of practices adopted. Education, formal social participation, membership in farm organizations (particularly in a cattle association), and church membership were associated significantly with the number of practices adopted. The several measures of size used (total acres operated, acres of cropland, numbers of cattle, gross farm income, and amount of hired labor) all showed a strong positive association with the number of practices adopted. In contrast with traditional thinking, the findings of this study indicate that the full owners are actually lagging behind tenants and part-owners are the highest of all in the number of practices adopted. Farm record keeping was also positively associated with practice adoption.

The author examined the relationship between personality orientations and adoption—an area in which little previous work has been done. Strong neighborhood ties, interest in strictly local affairs, and dependence on local sources of information were found to be associated with low adoption. In other words, high local-group identification was negatively associated with adoption. Intense reference-group identification with a professional cattlemen's organization, and participation in extension-sponsored groups were highly associated with adoption.

The operator who viewed farming as a profession, saw farming as a problem-solving situation, and adjusted his farm operations to changing conditions, had a high level of adoption. The operator who viewed farming as just a job and used a rigid-formula, unvarying approach, had a low level of adoption.

The author identifies some factors which are predisposing as to whether Kansas beef producers adopt recommended farm practices, as follows: gross farm income, intensity of operation or managerial ability (reflected by income and acreage), numbers of beef cattle, whether farming is viewed professionally, and the extent of "mental flexibility in operating."

The bulletin is well written and suggests many areas for future diffusion research. Psychological and philosophical factors in adoption of recommended practices is a

particular area in which a great deal of research is needed.

The findings of this study have somewhat limited application. The author had a complete enumeration rather than a sample, and the population was fairly homogeneous. A study of this nature involving a larger area and sampling a more heterogeneous population would provide some very valuable research data and could have much broader application.

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InFARmation Please, No. 3: Sources of Information Utilized by Iowa Farm Operators and Homemakers, 1955. Norman V. Strand, Helen Ayres, and Scott Krane. Project 2588, Industrial Science Research Institute, Iowa State College. *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, Des Moines, Iowa. 202 pp. 1956.

The format of this publication is such as to elicit the envy of researchers in state agricultural experiment stations and the Department of Agriculture. The many colors, the art work, the enameled paper, the index tabs, the spiral binding, and the attractive printing are seldom seen in works of this kind. The private support of the study explains its attractive style. It is the third in a series financed and published by *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead*.

The main objective of all three surveys in this series has remained basically the same. It is to obtain information pertaining to the acceptance and preferences of Iowa farmers and homemakers concerning publications going into Iowa homes. A second aim—to provide information for analyses of the relationships between communication media and various characteristics of farms, households, and persons—is more general in nature.

This study, like the previous ones, was planned and conducted by the Statistical Laboratory of Iowa State College. It thus had the benefit of the experience and professional competence of persons long concerned with survey and sampling work in farm areas.

The body of the report is divided into four major sections. In the first, the several media of communication are ranked according to use and preference by Iowa farmers and homemakers. It is significant that farm papers and magazines represent the first choice of both farm operators and their wives as a source of information.

The second section of the report is exclusively devoted to an analysis of the papers and magazines farm men and women read. Detailed information is provided on a great many specific questions dealing with everything from why a given periodical is read to which one is consulted first for enlightenment on farm and home enterprises and on price supports and agricultural policy. It is of interest that Iowa farmers consistently depend on *Wallaces' Farmer* most for information on markets and crop and livestock care. Other journals mentioned prominently by them as sources of facts were *Successful Farmer* and *Farm Journal*. Iowa farm women, although depending most on *Wallaces' Farmer* for things they want to know, are not so partial to this publication as their husbands.

Prestige ratings are included in the third section of the study. The primary concern is which farm papers and magazines are read regularly and preferred above all others for various types of information. *Wallaces' Farmer* is generally accorded the highest rating by both farmers and homemakers. Its nearest competitors are the *Farm Journal* and *Successful Farming*.

The final section of the study is devoted to radio and TV information sources. Respondents' preferences for a particular radio or TV station in seeking knowledge about farm and homemaking topics are given. For Iowans, it will be significant that radio station WHO is most listened to and television station WOI is most viewed.

The sizable appendix includes detailed information collected about the characteristics of farm households. Tabular data on level-of-living items, tenure, farm enterprises, and farm practices are systematically presented for those who may be interested.

It is the belief of the reviewer that everyone who works with farmers or has a research or teaching responsibility associated with rural life will be interested in this publication. *InFARmation Please, No. 3* has a list price of \$10.00 per copy.

ALVIN L. BERTRAND.

Agricultural Marketing Service,
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Equalizing Educational Opportunity through Community School Districts. J. F. Thaden. Michigan Agr. Expt. Sta. Special Bull. 410, East Lansing. 44 pp. Jan. 1957.

In Michigan, as in many other states, public schools are in the process of shift-

ing from small uneconomic units to larger "community school districts." This shift is a painful, tension-loaded process, even at best. An awareness of the pertinent facts regarding the problem can speed up the process and lessen the tensions. This bulletin can render a real service to school administrators, educational policy makers, and citizens in the state of Michigan who are or will be faced with the problem of centralizing or merging school districts. The material will be of particular interest to people in other states who also face this problem.

After stating the scope of the problem in Michigan—"Six out of seven school districts in Michigan do not have a 12-grade curriculum"—the author presents facts pertinent to the problem, the pressures of increasing school enrollment, the limitations of the primary district, the legal provisions, and enabling legislation. As part of the report of previous research on the problem, four county cases are cited, clearly illustrating the fact that some counties are making rapid progress in the shift from primary districts to community districts. Some characteristics of this reorganization are: (1) the state has not been inclined toward mandatory legislation; (2) reorganization has occurred mostly in the smaller hamlets; (3) districts with larger villages as centers get a bigger "yes" vote than districts with smaller villages as centers; (4) state aid to expand school plants for nonresidents tends to slow down the centralization process; and (5) schools which have once closed seldom reopen, even though it may be years before the district is annexed into a larger district.

Assessment data indicate wide variation within a county and between counties, with the more urban counties closer to state and county equalization figures than the more rural counties.

Data on the 12-grade school districts and on their communities present a wide range of differences. Selected for study were 74 12-grade school districts that have the characteristics toward which there seems to be a trend in the district reorganization movement. These districts were large enough to have "considerable enrollment, wealth, relatively self-sufficing multiple-service centers and few nonresident students." A comparison of these 74 districts with all 534 12-grade districts in the state points up some of the changes which are likely to occur as districts get larger and become more like the 74 selected. The author also points up some potentialities for community college districts.

Although this bulletin presents an important problem and gives some useful facts related to it, the statements of purposes and hypothesis in the introduction are misleading. One purpose was not carried out and the other two received only a minor proportion of the space of the bulletin. It would seem that the hypothesis, in this instance, would have been described more accurately as an assumption. The reader gets the impression at some points that the author has purposely avoided the statement of his main purpose and some of the implications of his data which are clearly evident. Because of his acquaintance with his audience, it is most likely that he has chosen to let his presentation indicate his purpose and let the reader come to his own conclusions after seeing the facts.

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Heart Disease and Retirement in the Hartford Standard Metropolitan Area. Walter C. McKain, Jr. and Norman W. Oslager. Connecticut Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 328, Storrs. 35 pp. Sept. 1956.

The significance of this study comes in part from two facts unrelated to its stated objectives. The first is that it represents another contribution to the growing body of literature in medical sociology produced by rural sociologists. The second, and perhaps most important, is that here is a study published as an Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin but having for its locale an urban, metropolitan area. No reference is made in the study to agriculture as an occupation nor to rural areas as a place of residence. It would appear that the subject matter of "rural sociology" is departing from the rural orientation.

The principal purpose of the bulletin is to "determine the kinds of adjustments that were being made by retired persons with heart disease so that these could be presented accurately to persons nearing retirement age." No hypothesis was formulated; rather, the study was designed to secure factual information for which there is considerable public demand. In addition to the major purpose of the project, three other objectives were enumerated: (1) to estimate the incidence of heart disease among the retired population of the sample area; (2) to define the relationship between the incidence of heart disease and socio-economic characteristics of the population; and (3) to compare the living arrangements and activities of retired per-

sons with heart disease with those without heart disease.

The survey was conducted in the Hartford Standard Metropolitan Area. Forty companies, employing over 250 persons each, were contacted in 1954 and requested to furnish the names and addresses of all employees who had retired since 1950. Twenty companies supplied this information. There is no indication that these lists were representative of those retiring in the area, nor is there any indication that the companies were representative of the employers of the area.

Attempts were made to interview all retired persons listed by the companies. A complete schedule was obtained from all persons having heart disease and from the next person interviewed who did not have heart disease. Thus, a control group of retired persons without heart disease was secured. The study does not reveal what criteria were used in determining whether an individual had heart disease. One possible serious limitation of this study could be that sufficient consideration was not given to defining what is meant by "heart disease." Although those interviewed included retired persons of both sexes, the analysis of the data is almost completely restricted to the men in the sample. It is not clear just what happened to the women. The analysis showed that the incidence of heart disease for the retired men in the sample was 216 per thousand. The principal characteristics of the men with heart disease were: (1) most of them were married; (2) most of them had less than a high-school education; and (3) they were represented in all broad groupings, including nativity groupings.

The adjustment to retirement by men with heart disease has paralleled that of those without heart disease. Most had reduced incomes and had adjusted to these lower incomes by cutting expenditures for recreation, clothing, organizations, and transportation. Many of the men experienced a decline in leisure-time activities after retirement, the reduction being somewhat greater for those with heart disease.

Supported by a grant from the Hartford Heart Association, the study represents a type of cooperation with the medical profession in response to public demand that well might be duplicated elsewhere. Further, with all the attention presently being devoted to heart disease and retirement, this bulletin provides a wealth of back-

ground data for those interested in this general area.

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Part-Time Farming — Its Influence on Young Families. Christine H. Hillman. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 775, Wooster. 70 pp. May 1956.

This is a companion study to the author's earlier one of young families engaged in full-time farming. It is a contribution to the North Central regional cooperative project, "Getting Established in Farming." The report discusses factors which influenced a selected group of young Ohio families to combine farming and nonfarm employment, problems they have encountered as a result of this mode of living, and some of their special needs, desires, and goals. The findings should be of value particularly to persons planning educational and community programs for rural areas.

Information was obtained from 270 families by personal interview with wife and/or husband, all of whom were under 36 years of age. The families were selected according to location in the 11 economic and 3 generalized farming areas of the state. Their farms were small (10 to 110 acres), and farming represented less than full-time employment. Each operator was also employed in off-farm work 100 or more days during the year preceding the interview. Seventeen per cent of the wives worked in full-time off-farm jobs, too.

The couples had been married an average of 8.2 years and had an average of 2.9 children. Among them were 17 childless couples, 119 with children all 8 years of age or under, and 134 with some children over 8. In about four-fifths of the families, husband or wife or both were farm-reared, and 30 per cent formerly farmed full time. Of the 270 families, 207 owned their farms.

Both level of schooling and level of living are described as relatively high. Many of the houses had been or were being remodeled and modernized to provide them with sanitary facilities and labor-saving equipment; 52 per cent were rated good, 29 per cent fair, and 19 per cent poor. A majority of the families produced substantial amounts of food for home use, but sold few farm products.

These young families gave the following reasons for engaging in part-time farming: (1) preference for the farm as a "way of life" and as a place to rear children, (2) satisfaction of carrying on an enterprise of one's own, (3) lower living costs, and (4)

greater economic security. Most farm-reared families said they were working in off-farm jobs in order to buy land and equipment to enable them to farm full time later. Although three-fourths of the families were in debt and three-fifths had no savings as such, regular incomes and the fact that they were investing in land, farm equipment, and homes seemed to make them feel secure.

On the whole, these families were quite content with their life as part-time farmers. Asked to list the disadvantages of part-time farming, half of the men and a third of the women mentioned none at all. The others spoke of the hard work imposed on the wives and the difficulties of making and keeping social contacts. Some wives felt that their husbands were not able to give enough time to the children or to home tasks.

The data indicated that the growth of part-time farming may bring problems of assimilation into community life. Ninety per cent of the families reported church affiliations, but for 53 per cent this was the only connection with any voluntary group. Only 30 per cent belonged to civic, patriotic, or community organizations; 19 per cent belonged to extension groups. Even fewer were active members. Those with nonfarm backgrounds tended to be less active in community affairs than the farm-reared.

Many (66 per cent of the wives, 43 per cent of the husbands) said they would like to take part in more group meetings if these were held at convenient times, were not too far away, and (the wives added) were worth while. Choices given as to the best time for meetings indicated that it would be difficult to arrange a time convenient to all, because of varying work shifts and long hours of work, home responsibilities, and transportation problems. The men wanted programs covering such topics as the economics of part-time farming, marketing procedures, record keeping, land management, and money management. Homemakers wanted help with management of and skills for housekeeping tasks, money management, recreation and health problems, child rearing, and family relationships. These choices reflected lacks in their training for their jobs as farmers and homemakers. Among the wives, the desire for information tended to increase as they progressed through the stages of the family cycle. The families also showed much interest in social and recreational activities which they could enjoy as a group and in the company of other young families.

To have a wholesome and happy family life, to educate the children and give them a good start in life, to attain financial security and eventually farm full time, to be useful citizens and have the respect of the community were the major goals of these young, part-time farm families.

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Part-Time Farming in Eastern Kentucky: A Study of Economic Area 8. Robert E. Galloway. Kentucky Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 646, Lexington. 28 pp. June 1956.

Rural Families in the Purchase Area of Western Kentucky: A Study of Economic Area 1. Irwin T. Sanders and Robert E. Galloway. Kentucky Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 647, Lexington. 27 pp. June 1956.

The first of these bulletins is the third in a series of reports based on the study of rural manpower in Census Economic Area 8 of eastern Kentucky. These publications resulted from the cooperative efforts of the State Agricultural Experiment Station and the Agricultural Marketing Service.

The part-time farming study is based primarily on survey records obtained, in the spring of 1952, from 224 rural families who received income from both farm and nonfarm enterprises; all families of this type in a sample of 333 open-country households were included. Characteristics of the families, utilization of the labor force, nonfarm training, and children who have left home are main topics covered. The sample of households was drawn to obtain a cross section of the population of Economic Area 8, a mountainous farming area. The 224 families that had some member working at both farm and nonfarm work at some time during the year constituted two-thirds of the total. The extent of off-farm work was related to the family life cycle. Young families more often had no farming operation; mature families had the largest percentage of members working at both farm and nonfarm work; adult families more often were engaged in full-time farming.

Heads of nonfarm families with no farm operation were youngest, and full-time farm family heads were oldest. Heads of families having members working at both farm and nonfarm enterprises fell between the two groups. Part-time farmers had completed the largest number of grades of school, and nonfarm families were most

likely to own their homes. In fact, the author concludes that "substantial amounts of off-farm work greatly assist farmers in gaining ownership." Heads of part-time farm families usually were employed off the farm in manufacturing, forestry, and government. Relatively few members of these families had received any special nonfarm training. Out-migrants either left the state or remained in the home county. A third went into the armed forces, and some of these are expected to enter farming upon their return.

The purpose of the second bulletin is "to describe the contemporary open-country family, both farm and nonfarm, in the Purchase area of Kentucky." The study covers composition of families, place of residence, source of income, modern conveniences, commercial services used, family work pattern, things families do together, and why members leave home. However, the families, interviewed in the spring of 1953, numbered only 189 and were representative of open-country families having a husband, wife, and children of school age (6-18 years of age) and having lived in the Purchase area for at least a year.

This is an area generally of small family-size commercial farms, both owner-operated and tenant-operated. The farm incomes in the area are generally low, and were severely affected by the loss of the dark tobacco market in the 1920's. The average combined income for part-time farm families was \$4,602, as compared with \$4,085 for full-time farm families.

Two significant movements have occurred in the area since 1939—a movement out of farming and a movement toward improved farming methods. Some of the 44 "full-time" farmers represented in the study work as much as 99 days a year off the farm. More than half the family heads were engaged in construction work, almost a fifth in manufacturing, and a tenth in wholesale and retail trade. The peak periods of shift away from full-time farming were 1938-41 and 1950-51; the peak period of shift into full-time farming was 1943-46. Seventy-one per cent of the part-time farmers and 55 per cent of the nonfarm heads had shifted from full-time farming. Of those who worked outside the Purchase during the period 1933 to 1952, half went to Michigan.

Electricity has come into almost all of the homes since 1945 and electrical appliances are prevalent.

As a native of the Purchase, this review-

er feels that the report gives only a fleeting glimpse of part of the rural families in the area. By limiting the sample to families with husband and wife and children 6 to 18 years of age, many families were excluded. This is an area of heavy migration of the younger families to out-of-state locations. Because the bulletin presents primarily a cross-section analysis at a single point in time, the reader may fail to grasp the rapid changes to which rural families are subjected.

The data in both publications are well presented in understandable tables and occasional charts. Neither attempts to delineate problems or to suggest solutions, except insofar as these may be implicit in certain characteristics of the family.

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Agricultural Research Service,
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Growth Trends of Mississippi Population Centers, 1900-1950. A. Alexander Fannelli and Harald A. Pedersen. Community Series No. 10, Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State College, State College. 72 pp. July 1956.

This study deals with two groups of population centers in Mississippi: (1) 256 centers (cities, towns, villages, and hamlets) for which continuous population data were available for each census, 1900-1950; and (2) 136 places which appeared or disappeared since 1900. The first group includes the main population centers of the state, ranging in size from Jackson, the capital, with a population of 98,271 in 1950, to Enid, a hamlet with 94 inhabitants. Those in the second group are predominantly the smaller centers—73 of them having less than 250 people.

The core of the bulletin is (a) the classification of the 256 places according to types or patterns of growth; (b) the analysis of the factors which determine growth and decline of these centers; (c) the deeper case analysis of ten selected cases to illustrate the historical, industrial, political, and regional forces making for growth, stagnation, and decline. Less extensive and searching analysis is given to the second group. This group is dealt with under the topic, "Mortality of Population Centers," which, incidentally, is slightly misleading; 96 places have disappeared, but 40 are still in existence, and some of these are probably destined to experience an increase of population—one of them has more than 5,000 population.

The authors classify the first group of

places, not upon the basis of their absolute population data, but on the basis of a scheme of four growth trend types, which are described and differentiated as follows (p. 10):

TYPE A: Rapid and continuous growth. These are places with a population increase of at least 300 percent between 1900 and 1950 (i.e., the population has quadrupled or better), and with no evidence of leveling off in the 1940-50 decade.

TYPE B: Moderate or slow growth. These places show an increase in population between 1900 and 1950, but the growth is less rapid than in Type A

TYPE C: Mixed trend. These places are generally characterized by erratic or unstable growth patterns. Centers are classified in this category when (1) they level off or decline in the 1940-50 decade, (2) they have an erratic growth pattern with an indeterminate trend, or (3) they have remained about the same in population over the 50-year period

TYPE D: Declining trend. These are places which have had (1) a net loss in population (more than five percent) between 1900 and 1950, or (2) a steady declining population between 1930 and 1950

Twenty-four centers fall into Type A, 89 into Type B, 92 into Type C, and 51 into Type D. A master list of these four types of centers is provided by Appendix Table VI. The factors in population growth which are applied to the analysis of these four types of places are: (1) size of population in 1900, (2) regional location according to eight regions contrasted with the state as a whole, (3) governmental function—whether the place was a county seat or not, (4) location with respect to highway facilities, with differentiation into six different highway indexes (for example, junctions of various kinds of highways).

Part Two is devoted to selected case studies—four from Type A, four from Type B, and one each from Types C and D. This is obviously a somewhat unbalanced selection of cases. The centers are chosen because they serve many different functions. Much attention is given to the occupational profiles of selected cities in 1950.

This study is of special interest to those who wrestle with the general problem of why some cities grow while others decline. It sets a high standard in objectivity, factor analysis, and conciseness of discussion. The emphasis on illustrations is commendable. More than twenty line and bar charts help

very materially to make the conclusions clear and understandable.

JOHN P. JOHANSEN.

Department of History & Social Science,
Northern Michigan College.

Rural-Farm Males Entering and Leaving Working Ages, 1940-50 and 1950-60—Replacement Ratios and Rates. Gladys K. Bowles and Conrad Taeuber. Series Census-AMS (P-27), No. 22, Washington, D. C. 65 pp. Aug. 1956.

This publication is for those interested in the problems of farm manpower replacement. It enlarges upon an earlier work by Taeuber and continues the statistical series to 1960. It provides replacement ratios and rates for rural-farm white and nonwhite males in the age categories 25-69 and 20-64 for the United States; for census regions, divisions, economic subregions, and state economic areas; and for states and counties. These are for the decades 1940-50 and 1950-60. Some base data on the numbers involved are also included.

Replacement is defined as a function of the mortality experience facing those entering the working age relative to that facing those already in the working age plus 100 per cent retirement of those leaving the defined working ages. The mortality experiences are those centering around the years 1940 and 1950. The replacement ratio is the number of entrants to the age category relative to the number of departures. The replacement rate is the net change for the decade in the working population. Users of the report can obtain the total changes occurring by applying the replacement rates to the populations involved. The size of the tables and the brevity of the statement on methodology belie the enormity of the task accomplished.

The report should not be construed as a definitive statement of the future rural-farm male population. Its rates concern the numbers that would result from the effects of selected mortality experiences. Efforts were not made to analyze manpower needs resulting from farm and urban technological change and economic events. Work on such propositions becomes the responsibility of the users of the report.

ROBERT HIRZEL.

Department of Sociology,
University of Maryland.

Migrant Agricultural Labor in Ohio. Wade H. Andrews and Saad Z. Nagi. Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 780, Wooster. 27 pp. Sept. 1956.

The existence of a migratory farm-labor population is a corollary of specialized cash-crop agriculture. Characteristic welfare problems associated with such a population require fact-finding research on the basis of which there can be reasoned public policy.

This bulletin is a study of the origins, characteristics, composition, and distribution of the migratory farm-labor population of Ohio. For their information, the authors have relied principally upon the 1950 Census of Agriculture, the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation (Farm Placement Division), the United States Department of Labor (Farm Placement Service), and pertinent published materials. Maps and tables present the authors' basic findings, in terms of which there is a straightforward account of this important segment of the state's labor force.

In addition to noting the relative importance of migratory labor in the various agricultural sections of Ohio, as well as the extent of the migrant population by seasons and by types of crops, the authors describe certain features of social organization among migrants—the crews, methods of recruitment, means of transportation, and family composition. The fact that 70 per cent of the migrants are American Mexicans from Texas has conditioned markedly many of these features of social organization.

Due consideration is given to the social and economic problems of Ohio's migratory farm workers—housing, schooling, health, and recreation. Finally, a summary of state and federal labor laws pertaining to agricultural workers is presented.

The bulletin is a useful reference for persons and agencies concerned with migratory farm labor in Ohio, and is comparable to similar studies which have been made in other states.

WALTER FIREY.

Department of Sociology,
University of Texas.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Abell, Helen C., Larson, Olaf F., and Dickerson, Elizabeth R. *Communication of Agricultural Information in a South-Central New York County*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Rural Sociol. Mimeo. Bull. 49, Ithaca, N. Y. 34 pp. Jan. 1957.

Anderson, W. A. *Population Change in Vermont, 1900-1950*. Vermont Agr.

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Bergmann, Theodor. *Soziale Sicherung und Landwirtschaftliche Bevölkerung. Unterlagen für einen Internationalen Vergleich*. Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie E. V., Bonn. 1956.

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Crile, Lucinda. *Findings from Research on Meetings*. USDA Ext. Serv. Circ. 507, Washington, D. C. 42 pp. Aug. 1956.

Fanelli, A. Alexander (Compiler and Editor). *The Role of Industry in Rural Development*. Proceedings of the Third Community Development Workshop, Mississippi State College, Oct. 18, 1956. Sociology and Rural Life, Conf. Series 3, State College. 49 pp. Nov. 1956.

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Mori, H. *Present Health Conditions of Peasants in Japan*. The Japanese Association of Rural Medicine, Tokyo. 27 pp. Nov. 1956.

Orshansky, Mollie, Blake, Ennis C., and Moss, Mary Ann. *Food Expenditures, Preservation and Home Production by Rural Families in the North Central Region, 1951-52*. USDA Agr. Inform. Bull. 113, Washington, D. C. 86 pp. Aug. 1956.

- Raushenbush, Stephen. *Pensions in Our Economy: A Study of Old Age Pension Problems and Proposals in Relation to the General Economy*. The Public Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C. 113 pp. 1955.
- Tarver, James D. *Population Change and Migration in Oklahoma, 1940-50*. Oklahoma Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 485, Stillwater. 39 pp. Jan. 1957.
- Tennessee Valley Authority and Mississippi State College. *Experimental Approach to Farmer Education*. (Papers presented at Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Louisville, Ky., Feb. 7-9, 1955.) Report T55-2, Knoxville, Tenn. 27 pp. 1955.
- U. S. Congress: House, 84th Congress. *The Family Farm*. Report of the Subcommittee on Family Farms to the Committee on Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 33 pp. Aug. 1, 1956.
- U. S. Department of Agriculture. *American Farming: An Introduction for Young People*. USDA Misc. Pub. 720, Washington, D. C. 30 pp. Nov. 1956.
- U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service and Agricultural Research Service. *Agricultural Outlook Charts, 1957*. Washington, D. C. 99 pp. Nov. 1956.
- U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service and Agricultural Marketing Service. *Household Food Consumption Survey, 1955*, Washington, D. C. Dec. 1956. Reports issued as follows:
- Rpt. 1: *Food Consumption of Households in the United States*. 196 pp.
- Rpt. 2: *Food Consumption of Households in the Northeast*. 195 pp.
- Rpt. 3: *Food Consumption of Households in the North Central Region*. 196 pp.
- Rpt. 4: *Food Consumption of Households in the South*. 196 pp.
- Rpt. 5: *Food Consumption of Households in the West*. 195 pp.
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- U. S. Department of Labor. *Suggested Research Projects—Labor Economics and Industrial Relations*. Washington, D. C. 31 pp. June 1956.
- U. S. Public Health Service. *Sources of Morbidity Data: Listing Number 4, 1956, from the Clearinghouse on Current Morbidity Statistics Projects*. Public Health Serv. Pub. 504, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 74 pp. 1956.
- Wilkening, Eugene A., Clark, Robert C., and Landry, Lenore L. *Effectiveness of a Clothing Handbook in Teaching 4-H Club Members*. Wisconsin Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 522, Madison. 44 pp. July 1956.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Harald A. Pedersen

Marion T. Loftin has accepted the assignment as News Notes editor and will take over with the next issue. Send News Notes items to him: c/o Division of Sociology and Rural Life, Mississippi State College, State College, Mississippi. (See Mississippi State College news item re Harald A. Pedersen.)

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT FOR THE 1957 ANNUAL MEETING

at the

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

and

JOINT SESSIONS WITH THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

at the

Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D. C.
August 29

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS AT COLLEGE PARK

Headquarters and meeting place: Student Union Building, University of Maryland.

Lodging: Dormitory on University of Maryland campus.

Available nights of August 29, 30, 31.

Check-in time: 4:00 to 8:00 p. m., August 29.

Quarters restricted to persons 16 years of age or older.

Rates: \$4.00 per person per night.

Send reservations to:

Robert K. Hirzel, Chairman, Local Arrangements
Department of Sociology
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Meals: Student Union: Breakfast, \$1.00 | August 30 and 31
Luncheon, \$1.25 |

Evening meal, Friday, August 30: Outdoor chicken barbecue

Off-campus facilities:

Restaurants and lodging available in nearby College Park. If off-campus lodging desired, please reserve direct with the motel or hotel. Make reservations early!

Lord Calvert Hotel and Cottages, 7200 Baltimore Avenue,
College Park, Maryland:

Cottages: 2-3 persons, \$ 8.00
4 persons, \$14.00

Hotel rooms, \$3.50

Del Haven White House Motel, 10260 Baltimore Avenue,
College Park, Maryland:

2 persons, \$6.50-\$8.50
3 persons, \$8.50-\$10.00
4-6 persons, \$10.00-\$14.00

(If air-conditioned room preferred, please specify this when making reservation.)

PROGRAM AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Joint sessions with the American Sociological Society, Shoreham Hotel]

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29

9:00 a. m. **DIFFUSION AND DECISION PROCESSES**

Chairman: C. ARNOLD ANDERSON, University of Kentucky

Community Prestige as a Structural Element in the Choice of Persons as Sources of Farm Information in a Missouri Farm Community—HERBERT F. LIONBERGER, University of Missouri.

Adoption of Recommended Preventive Health Care Measures—SHELDON G. LOWRY and SELZ C. MAYO, North Carolina State College, and DONALD G. HAY, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Farmers' Attitudes and Values in Relation to Adoption of Approved Practices in Corn Growing—CHARLES R. HOFFER and DALE STRANGLAND, Michigan State University.

The Relation of Knowledge to Adoption of Agricultural Extension's Recommendations—LEONARD M. SIZER, West Virginia University, and WARD F. PORTER, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussants: (To be announced)

3:30 p. m. **DIFFUSION AND DECISION PROCESSES—Continued**

Chairman: C. ARNOLD ANDERSON, University of Kentucky

Rural Sociology Approaches Maturity—C. ARNOLD ANDERSON, University of Kentucky.

Secularization Processes in a Ceylon Village—BRYCE RYAN, University of Miami, L. D. JAYASENA, and D. C. R. WICKREMSINGHE, University of Ceylon.

Diffusion of Agricultural and Home Economics Practices in a Japanese Rural Community—D. E. LINDSTROM, University of Illinois.

Husband and Wife Involvement in Farm Family Decision-Making as Related to Social Status and Other Factors—E. A. WILKENING and NANCY WOOD, University of Wisconsin.

Some Factors Related to "Rationality" in Decision-Making among Farm Operators—ALFRED DEAN, HERBERT A. AUREBACH, and C. PAUL MARSH, North Carolina State College.

PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30

8:00 a. m. **BREAKFAST MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

9:30 a. m. **Section 1: THE FAMILY IN RURAL SOCIETY**

Chairman: EUGENE A. WILKENING, University of Wisconsin

Systems for Measuring Residential and Occupational Mobility in Relation to Age of Family—JAMES W. LONGEST, Cornell University.

Factors Associated with Part-Time Farming in Rural Areas—GLENN V. FUGUITT, University of Wisconsin.

Some Reasons for the Persistence of Small Farms—HELEN C. ABELL, Department of Agriculture, Marketing Service, Ottawa, Canada.

Discussants: FREDERICK C. FLIEGEL, Pennsylvania State University.

JAY W. ARTIS, Michigan State University.

MARIAN M. DEININGER, University of Minnesota.

9:30 a. m. **Section 2: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN RURAL AREAS**

Chairman: HAROLD HOFFSOMMER, University of Maryland

Finding the Potential Library Patron: A Case Study in Library Community Relationships—MARGARET CUSSLER and WAYNE C. ROHRER, University of Maryland.

Church Participation Patterns in a Rural Midwestern Area—VICTOR OBENHAUS, W. W. SCHROEDER, and CHARLES D. ENGLAND, Chicago Theological Seminary.

Acceptance and Differential Use of Health Practices in Green and Hancock Counties, Georgia—JOHN C. BELCHER, University of Georgia.

Types of Communication within Formal and Informal Systems in a Rural Township—CHARLES L. CLELAND, University of Wisconsin.

Discussants: THEREL R. BLACK, Utah State Agricultural College.
ROBERT F. ESHLEMAN, Franklin and Marshall College.
ROBERT L. McNAMARA, University of Missouri.
ANTHONY OSTRIC, Mississippi State College.

1:30 p. m. **Section 3: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN RURAL AND SEMIRURAL AREAS**

Chairman: WILLIAM H. SEWELL, University of Wisconsin

Board Members as Decision Makers in a Farmers' Cooperative—WILLIAM S. FOLKMAN, University of Arkansas.

Farmer Attitudes toward the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Program—R. L. SKRABANEK, Texas A. & M. College, and LOUIS J. DUCOFF, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The Educational Ladder: A Study of Educational Mobility among Rural Young People in Pennsylvania—PAUL B. WILSON, Baylor University.

Discussants: BARDIN H. NELSON, Texas A. & M. College.
WADE H. ANDREWS, Ohio State University.
ARCHIE O. HALLER, Michigan State University.

1:30 p. m. **Section 4: STUDIES IN LATIN AMERICA**

Chairman: NATHAN L. WHETTEN, University of Connecticut

The Rural Community with Special Reference to Latin America—T. LYNN SMITH, University of Florida.

Some Demographic Aspects of the U. S.-Mexican Border—J. ALLAN BEEGLE, Michigan State University.

The Place of Returning Migrants of the United States in a Mexican Border Community—JULIO C. RIVERA, Colorado State Department of Public Health.

Discussants: LOWRY NELSON, University of Minnesota.
ROY CLIFFORD, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

4:00 p. m. **ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING**7:30 p. m. **Section 5: THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

Chairman: OLAF F. LARSON, Cornell University

Presidential address: Theories of Community Development—IRWIN T. SANDERS, University of Kentucky and Associates for International Research, Inc.

Social Components of Community Development—HOWARD W. BEERS, University of Kentucky.

Relating Community Involvement Principles to Development Programs—CHRISTOPHER SOWER and WALTER FREEMAN, Michigan State University.

Theory and Methods of Training for Community Development—ROBERT A. POLSON, Cornell University.

Discussion

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31

8:30 a. m. **Section 6: CHANGE IN AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES AND COMMUNICATION**

Chairman: WAYNE C. ROHRER, University of Maryland

Attributes of Farm Families with Low Frequency of Contact with Agricultural Extension—WALTER L. SLOCUM, Washington State College.

The Function of Information Sources in the Farm-Practice Adoption Process—JAMES H. COPP, EMORY J. BROWN, and MAURICE L. SILL, Pennsylvania State University.

The Roles of the Extension Subject-Matter Specialist in the Agricultural Communication Process: Theoretical and Substantive Considerations—EMORY J. BROWN and ALBERT DEEKENS, Pennsylvania State University.

Discussants: E. J. NIEDERFRANK, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
A. LEE COLEMAN, University of Kentucky.
C. PAUL MARSH, North Carolina State College.

8:30 a. m. **Section 7: RESEARCH: DEVELOPMENTS IN METHODOLOGY**

Chairman: FRANK D. ALEXANDER, Cornell University

An Approach to Measuring Reference-Group Influences in the Adoption of Farm Practices—EVERETT M. ROGERS, Ohio State University, and GEORGE M. BEAL, Iowa State College.

The Measurement of Attitudes and Values in Rural Life: An Application of the Forced-Choice Technique—MURRAY A. STRAUS, Washington State College.

Measuring Locality-Group Consensus—LAWRENCE W. DRABICK, Pennsylvania State University.

An Application of Stouffer's H-Technique to the Study of Farmers' Knowledge about Old-Age and Survivors Insurance—C. MILTON COUGHENOUR, University of Kentucky, JOHN R. CHRISTIANSEN, U. S. Department of Agriculture, R. L. SKRABANEK, Texas A. & M. College, and LOUIS H. PLOCH, University of Maine.

Discussants: IRVIN A. SPAULDING, University of Rhode Island.
PAUL J. JEHLIK, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
C. HORACE HAMILTON, North Carolina State College.
JOEL SMITH, Michigan State University.

10:15 a. m. **Section 8: TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY**

Chairman: ROY C. BUCK, Pennsylvania State University

Results of Seminary Courses in Church and Community—HENRY H. SHISLER, Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N. C.

Teaching Methods of Community Research to Non-Sociology Majors—SELZ C. MAYO, North Carolina State College.

Factors in the Selection of a College Major by Students Having Rural Backgrounds—ALBERT E. LEVAK, Michigan State University.

Discussants: A. F. WILEDEN, University of Wisconsin.
WILLIAM W. REEDER, Cornell University.

10:15 a. m. **Section 9: THE CHANGING RURAL POPULATION**

Chairman: WARD W. BAUDER, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Highway Development and Suburbanization—WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR., University of Connecticut.

A Rural Community at the Urban Fringe—ALBERT SCHAFFER, Eastern Michigan College.

Integration of Migrants and Non-Migrants in the Rural Fringe—WADE H. ANDREWS, Ohio State University.

America's Potentials for Supporting an Expanding Population—O. D. DUNCAN, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussants: W. A. ANDERSON, Cornell University.
ALVIN L. BERTRAND, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
ROY G. FRANCIS, University of Minnesota.
EVERETT S. LEE, University of Pennsylvania.

12:00 Noon **MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

CHARLES R. HOFFER, Chairman

FRANK D. ALEXANDER

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

ROY C. BUCK

PAUL J. JEHLIK

OLAF F. LARSON

GLEN L. TAGGART

SHELDON G. LOWRY

IRWIN T. SANDERS

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL

1956

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, January 1, 1956.....	\$ 2,986.59
(Held against 1956 subscriptions).....	(2,090.86)
(Held against subscriptions for 1957 and beyond)	(91.89)
(Other)	(803.84)
From Rural Sociological Society on 1956 business	1,786.50
Current subscriptions and sales (1956).....	1,632.85
Advance subscriptions and sales (1957 and beyond).....	1,964.09
Sales of back issues for Society.....	322.19
Reprint sales	644.10
Advertising	103.63
Miscellaneous	53.92
Annual payment from Rural Sociological Society	500.00
Total.....	\$ 9,993.87

EXPENDITURES

Printing Journal	\$ 4,400.40
Engraving and cuts for Journal.....	70.48
Mailing costs—Journal (postage, postage fees, mailing envelopes) ..	258.05
Printing of reprints.....	556.22
Supplies and equipment (letterheads, envelopes, forms, books)....	180.36
Postage, managing editor's office.....	70.00
Postage and expense money to other editors.....	45.00
Managing Editor's expenses to annual meeting	100.13
Other travel and communication (trips and phone calls to printer, etc.)	20.59
Purchase of back issues for the Society.....	16.00
Copyright	288.82
To Rural Sociological Society for back-issue sales (net sales less 10% for postage and handling).....	6.82
Binding (for managing editor and editor).....	1,200.00
Personnel wages (part-time secretarial and editorial help).....	1.06
Subscription refunds.....	1.00
Miscellaneous.....	
Total.....	\$ 7,214.93
Cash on hand, December 31, 1956.....	\$ 2,778.94
(Less advance sales, 1957).....	(1,983.76)
(Less advance sales, 1958 and beyond)	(83.09)
(Net balance)	(\$ 712.09)

Respectfully submitted,

A. LEE COLEMAN
Managing Editor

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Columbia University. The Bureau of Applied Social Research has moved from 427 West 117th Street to its new address: 605 West 115th Street, New York 25, New York.

Kent State University. In 1956-1957, there were ten names on the teaching roster of the department. The graduate offerings of the department have been expanded so that now courses totaling 108 hours are open for graduate credit. Of these, approximately a third are solely for graduate students.

Leah Houser, wife of Paul Houser, has recently received a Ph.D. degree in sociology and anthropology from Michigan State University.

Paul Houser is the author of the new publication of the Mahoning County Planning Commission, entitled *Selected Studies in the Population of Mahoning County, Ohio: Long-Range Study No. 1, A Part of the County Comprehensive Plan*.

Oscar Ritchie recently participated in the Human Relations Workshop in Parma, Ohio, sponsored jointly by Kent State University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Ritchie has been appointed associate chairman of the Detention Home Survey Committee of the Portage County Mental Health Association, which is serving as an advisory group to the county authorities. The establishment of a youth center is being planned within the county, and key persons are being interviewed and sites visited in preparation of the final decision.

Paul Oren's book, *Parisian Youth*, based upon research conducted in Paris, France, under a Fulbright grant in 1952-1953, is approaching completion. Oren is chairman of the Special Problems Committee on Mental Health of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, as well as co-chairman on the Inter-County Cooperative Committee of the Portage County Mental Health Association.

James Fleming has returned to Kent State University, after a year of teaching on the campus of Ohio State University in the Department of Sociology.

James Thomas Laing, former graduate assistant in the department, has received his Master's degree in sociology and is currently active in the U. S. Air Force.

Walter Babics and Jack Schmitt were the graduate assistants in the Department of Sociology for 1956-1957. Both received their B.A. degrees from Kent State University, in 1956.

Marvin Koller recently visited the cam-

pus of Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana, to deliver his talk on the headhunters of Rovia Island, Central British Solomons. While in Terre Haute, he spoke to the Social Science Faculty of the college, and addressed a high-school assembly and the Terre Haute Rotary Club.

University of Kentucky. Robin M. Williams, Cornell University, appeared on the University of Kentucky's Blazer Lecture series, in April. He spoke on the subject, "Changing American Institutions." Williams is a former staff member at the university.

The Bureau of Community Service and the Department of Rural Sociology have recently conducted three-month training courses in community development for thirteen persons from Pakistan and eleven from Indonesia. These people are expected to set up community development training centers in their own countries, on their return.

The Commonwealth Fund has made a substantial grant to the university for planning studies in connection with the new medical school and medical center that the university expects to open in 1959. A considerable portion of the grant will be used for sociological studies, under the direction of Robert Straus, medical sociologist, and Thomas R. Ford, associate professor of sociology.

In collaboration with the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA, the Department of Rural Sociology is engaged in an extensive study of education in three low-income counties. John R. Christiansen and Sloan Wayland are study directors for the USDA. The university is represented by Howard W. Beers, head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, and James S. Brown, associate rural sociologist.

Sidney J. Kaplan, assistant professor of sociology, has been serving as moderator of the University of Kentucky Roundtable, a long-established radio series. Kaplan served as the elected chairman, for 1956-57, of the Social Science Division of the College of Arts and Sciences.

For the seventh consecutive summer, the Department of Sociology and the College of Education are conducting the Seminar on Intergroup Relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Southern Education Foundation are co-sponsors. Staff for 1957 are Willis A. Sutton, Jr., director, A. D. Albright, associate director, and A. Lee Coleman, associate di-

rector. Several nationally known people in the field will serve as consultants.

John C. Ball, assistant professor of sociology, has been awarded a grant by the university Research Fund Committee for the preparation of a book in the field of juvenile delinquency.

Joy N. Query, instructor in sociology, has been awarded a University of Kentucky Research Foundation Fellowship. She is transferring her candidacy for the Ph.D. degree from Syracuse University to the University of Kentucky.

Ralph J. Ramsey, extension specialist in rural sociology, is again serving on the faculty of the regional summer school for extension workers in agriculture and home economics, at the University of Arkansas.

James W. Gladden, associate professor of sociology, was on sabbatic leave during the spring semester; he devoted his time to study of Negro family life and to human relations consultant work throughout the South for the National Student Y.M.C.A.

Buford Junker, visiting lecturer in sociology this year, has accepted a position as research associate in the Administrative Science Center, University of Pittsburgh. John R. Christiansen, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, AMS, USDA, who has been stationed at the University of Kentucky, has accepted a position on the sociology staff at Brigham Young University, effective September 1. Gilbert Hardee, who has been in residence during the year working on his Ph.D. thesis, has been appointed to the staff in rural sociology at North Carolina State College. James N. Young, also a Ph.D. candidate at the university, joined the staff at North Carolina State College, in January.

Howard W. Beers is serving as part-time consultant to the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, AMS, USDA, and to the Office of Experiment Stations, USDA.

Mississippi: The State College and the University. G. L. Wilber has accepted a position as acting associate professor in the Division of Sociology and Rural Life, State College. He will carry on the work on the impact of industrialization in cooperation with the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, AMS, USDA. Wilber was formerly head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Omaha.

Harald A. Pedersen has resigned as professor of sociology and rural life, State College, and accepted a position with the International Cooperation Administration as community development advisor in Lahore, Pakistan.

Anthony Ostric has joined the staff of the State College department as assistant sociologist. Ostric received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and comes to the department from the New York Public Library. He will work on the low-income and rural development project. He is a cooperative employee with the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, AMS, USDA.

Wesley Baird has joined the college staff as assistant sociologist. Baird received his M.S. degree from the Department of Sociology and Rural Life. He is a cooperative employee with the Department of Agricultural Relations, TVA. He is working as a consultant to community development clubs in Alcorn County.

The Division of Sociology and Rural Life has been incorporated into the recently established School of Arts and Sciences at the College. The department is now able to offer the B.A., the M.S., and the M.A. degrees, as well as the Ph.D. degree in sociology. The department was included among the seven departments which were authorized to grant the Ph.D. degree in a recent action by the Board of Trustees for Institutions of Higher Learning.

Albert Lewis Rhodes has resigned from the staff at the University, to take a position as director of a research project at Vanderbilt University.

Robert L. Rands, associate professor of anthropology, has returned to the University. For the past year, Rands has been on a Guggenheim Fellowship and has been engaged in excavations at the important Maya site at Palenque in Chiapas, Mexico.

William T. Sanders has joined the faculty of the University as assistant professor of anthropology. Sanders received his doctorate from Harvard University in February, and since 1955 has been teaching at the University of Mississippi on a temporary basis.

H. K. Dansereau, assistant professor of sociology at the University, received his doctorate from the Michigan State University, in December.

Montana State College. *The Great Plains in Transition* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), by Carl Kraenzel, has received the Award of Merit, a citation given by the American Association for State and Local History. The citation was made on October 8, 1956.

University of North Carolina. Gordon W. Blackwell, Kenan professor of sociology and director of the Institute for Research

in Social Science, has resigned to become chancellor of the Woman's College of the University at Greensboro, effective July 1, 1957.

Daniel O. Price, research professor of sociology and statistics and director of the Social Science Statistical Laboratory in the Institute for Research in Social Science, has been appointed to succeed Blackwell as director of the institute, effective July 1, 1957.

Ohio State University. The Ohio State University held a Summer Program on Latin America, June 18 to July 24, 1957. It was primarily for nonspecialists, such as students, teachers, and journalists, who wish to broaden their understanding of this vital area.

The formal academic program—embracing the fields of geography, economics, political science, fine arts, anthropology, and sociology—was supplemented by such special features as lectures by distinguished scholars and officials, motion pictures, art exhibits, and informal social gatherings with Latin-Americans. More than thirty scholarships of \$150 were available. Further information concerning the program may be obtained from the Chairman, Summer Program on Latin America, 142 Hagerly Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

The University of Oklahoma. Reed M. Powell, chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been granted a Smith-Mundt award as visiting professor of sociology at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala, effective February 1 to September 1, 1957. Upon his return in September, he will be at Harvard for a year of postdoctoral study.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

National Conference of Christians and Jews. Through the Commission on Educational Organizations, and its 62 regional offices, the National Conference of Christians and Jews cooperated with 33 colleges and universities in various parts of the nation in the conduct of intergroup and human relations education workshops, during the summer of 1957. Since 1941, when the National Conference assisted the Colorado State College of Education in setting up the first specialized workshop in the field of intergroup education, the National Conference has cooperated with more than 290 workshops in 60 of the leading institutions of the nation. In 1956 alone, 1,500 educators and community leaders were enrolled

in the 43 workshops with which the National Conference cooperated.

Careful evaluation of the experience of those who attend each year furnishes conclusive evidence that these workshops have made a major contribution to the improvement of group relations in America.

The 62 regional offices of NCCJ cooperate with the various institutions in securing enrollment and providing modest amounts of scholarship aid. For full information, write the nearest National Conference office.

Herbert L. Seamans has retired from his position as director of the Commission on Educational Organizations, a post he has held since 1939 when the commission was organized. During the spring, Seamans will devote himself to the writing of a history of the commission's activities. In July, he will serve as co-director of a workshop in intergroup education at the University of Puerto Rico; in August, he will direct a similar workshop at Stanford University. In September, he will move to Coral Gables, Florida, to become consultant on human relations at the University of Miami. The NCCJ will retain Seamans as a consultant on special projects.

Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. The Bureau of Applied Social Research celebrated its twentieth anniversary on April 26-27, with a conference drawing experts from many parts of the country.

The "20th Anniversary Conference" was concluded with a dinner at which Bernard B. Berelson, director of the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation, and Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, were the chief speakers. Berelson served as research director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research from 1944 to 1946. Stanton was also affiliated with the Bureau in its early years. Berelson's topic was "Developments in the Behavioral Sciences during the Past Twenty Years"; Stanton spoke on the topic "Reminiscences on the Origins of the Bureau." Other speakers at the dinner and in the conference included John A. Krout, vice-president and provost of Columbia; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, associate director of the bureau and professor of sociology at Columbia; and Charles Y. Glock, director of the bureau; Harold D. Lasswell, professor of sociology at Yale University; David Riesman, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago; George Reader, associate professor of medicine at the Cornell University Medical College; and Talcott Par-

sons, professor of sociology at Harvard University.

Luigi Sturzo Institute. The Luigi Sturzo Institute is offering two prizes for papers dealing with the subject matter of sociology. The papers should be free from editorial restrictions and ready to go to press. A prize of 4,000,000 Italian lire will be awarded for the best paper written on the subject of "Government Interventionism in Free Countries—A Study of the Causes and Consequences of This Type of Intervention upon the Structure of Free Countries in the Political Crises of the 19th and 20th Centuries." The paper must reach the secretariat of the institute in Rome, Italy, in five typewritten copies, not later than August 1, 1958, and the prize will be awarded on or about May 31, 1959.

A prize of 500,000 lire will be awarded for an essay dealing with the subject, "The Methodological Significance and Normative Value of the So-called Sociological Laws: Confronted with Physical, Economic and Ethical Laws." The paper must reach the secretariat of the institute in five typewritten copies not later than December 31, 1957, and the prize will be awarded on or about May 31, 1958.

Merrill-Palmer School. The Merrill-Palmer School again organized a number of work-

shops for the summer of 1957. Among these were workshops dealing with family life education, early childhood education, child development and interpersonal relationships.

Seventh National Congress of Sociology in Mexico. The Seventh National Congress of Sociology in Mexico was held in Monterey, December 3-7, 1956. Participants from the United States included: Stuart A. Queen, T. Lynn Smith, Paul Meadows, Carle Zimmerman, Carl Rosenquist, and Robert Cuba Jones.

The Ohio Valley Sociological Society. The nineteenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society was held on April 26-27, 1957, in Columbus, Ohio. Host for the meeting was the Department of Sociology, Ohio State University. The following were elected officers for 1957-58: president, James E. Fleming, Kent State University; vice-president, James McKee, Toledo University; secretary-treasurer, Marvin B. Sussman, Western Reserve University; representative on the council of the American Sociological Society, Raymond F. Sletto, Ohio State University; and editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, Robert P. Bullock, Ohio State University.

The twentieth anniversary meeting (1958) of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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